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DENMARK

ACTUM WP2: Making Daily Mobility

- Phase 1 Analysis Report

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Publication date:
2012

Document Version
Early version, also known as pre-print

[Link to publication from Aalborg University](#)

Citation for published version (APA):
Wind, S. (2012). *ACTUM WP2: Making Daily Mobility: - Phase 1 Analysis Report*. A&D Skriftserie

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An aerial photograph of a city street, likely in Aalborg, Denmark. A tram is visible on the street, and the surrounding area includes buildings, trees, and a canal. The image is overlaid with a semi-transparent blue rectangle containing the title and author information.

ACTUM WP2: P0/P1 Analysis Report - making daily mobility

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ACTUM WP2: PO/P1 Analysis Report

- making daily mobility

Title

ACTUM WP2: P0/P1 Analysis Report
- making daily mobility

Date

October 2012

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Layout

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Font

Sansation
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ISSN

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Acknowledgements

Special thanks to the ACTUM WP1 team (Henrik Harder, Kristian Reinau & Anders Sogenfri Jensen) for advice and technical assistance with creation of GPS maps.



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Chapter One: Introduction

1 Introduction

WP2 and ACTUM

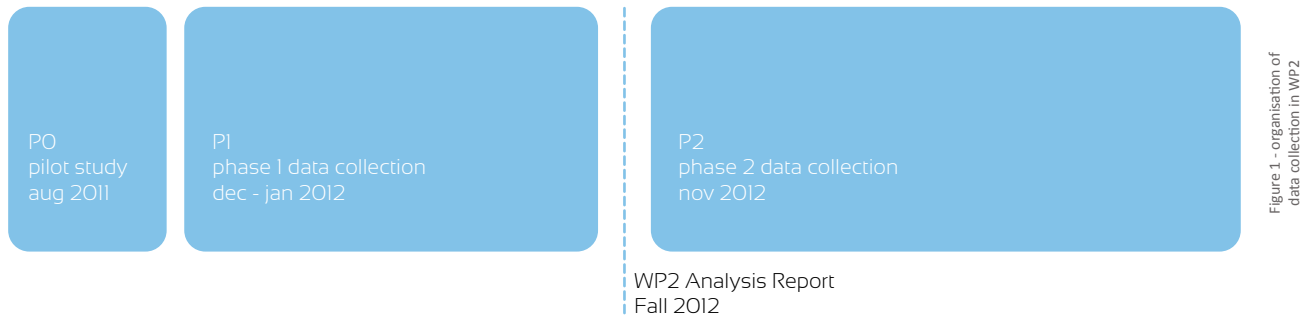
This report is part of the PhD study in work package 2 (WP2) in the project 'Analysis of activity-based travel chains and sustainable mobility' (ACTUM). The ACTUM project is hosted by the Technical University of Denmark (DTU), in a strategic research alliance with Aalborg University (AAU), Denmark. The overall objective of ACTUM is to create a state-of-the-art prototype transport demand model for the Metropolitan Area of Copenhagen in Denmark. The timeframe for the PhD study is from April 2011 to July 2014. This report written by PhD fellow Simon Wind from the department of Architecture & Media Technology at Aalborg University (swin@create.aau.dk).

The overall objective of WP2 is to address the qualitative dimensions of urban mobility. The basic hypothesis is that mobility is more than a physical phenomenon and has important repercussions on people's everyday lives; social networks; understanding of places and ultimately of themselves and others. As part of the shift from purely trip-oriented towards an activity-oriented understanding of everyday life mobility and transportation, this project aims to focus on the household unit. The underlying hypothesis being that actual activities in a household perspective will provide a more accurate knowledge base for understanding everyday life mobility. In this particular project, qualitative interviews will be performed to provide in-depth understanding of daily activities and travel patterns. By exploring the way people organise their choice of transport mode and route in relation to work, family and social obligations, WP2 will investigate strategies and rationales behind the organisation of everyday life mobility. The data collection will be in the Greater Copenhagen area.

Purpose of report

The report has several purposes. First, it is a summary and documentation of the different aspects of the WP2 study such as sampling, data collection, data analysis etc. Second, it is part of the ongoing reflection on the work that has been conducted until now. Third, it is the initial analysis of the empirical data collected in the study. And finally, it is a stepping-stone and foundation for the further data collection, data analysis and theory building in this project.

The PhD study is divided into three overall phases relating to the empirical data collection in the project. These phases are: (P0) Phase 0 – a pilot study; (P1) Phase 1 – first round data collection; (P2) Phase 2 – second round data collection. This current report is situated between phase 1 and phase 2 of the data collection (see figure 1).



The report is structured into seven chapters:

Chapter 1 contains a brief introduction and overview of the project.

Chapter 2 starts by describing the research design of the PhD study and reflections hereof.

Chapter 3 outlines the analysis strategy for the empirical material.

Chapter 4 presents the household sample participating in the project.

Chapter 5 is the focal point of the report as it unfolds the empirical material gathered in an initial analysis.

Chapter 6 reflects and concludes on the previous chapters and formulates guidelines for the further work in the project.

Chapter 7 is appendix and literature list.



Chapter Two: Research Design

2 Research Design

This chapter will describe the research design in the two conducted phases of P0 (Phase 0) and P1 (Phase 1) (see figure 1 for overview). P0 was originally thought of as a pilot study for P1, which is also the reason why there are minor methodological differences in the two phases. However, since the quality of the empirical data from P0 was considered high enough and the pilot study progressed without any significant issues, the empirical material from both P0 and P1 has become part of this report. In the following, the report will account for both the setup of P0 and P1, as well as, the sampling criteria, and finally conclude with some methodological reflection and recommendations for P2. The two phases will in this chapter be presented chronologically.

2.1 Description of P0 setup

The four pilot study interviews were conducted on the 30th of August, 1st and 8th of September 2011. P0 was a collaboration between WP1 and WP2 in the ACTUM project and this had some implications on the research design. Both work packages needed to test methods and research designs. This resulted in a pilot study framework with six steps:

1. Sampling of 4 households
2. Orientation meeting with each household to inform them of the nature of the pilot and give instructions how to use GPS equipment.
3. Data gathering consisting of GPS tracking each member of the household for 7 days.
4. GPS data collection (automatically via GSM network). Production of GPS maps.
5. Qualitative semi structured group interview with each household at their residence.
6. Documentation and evaluation in pilot study report.

The two crucial steps in the framework were step 3, data gathering, and step 5, interview session. Each of them will be briefly described below.

Step 3

During the data-gathering step all members of the households were asked to carry GPS data loggers for seven days. The household received at the orientation meeting one carry-on GPS data logger per household member. The members were furthermore given instruction how to use the equipment. The duration of the GPS data logging was divided into two days before the interview session and five days afterwards.

Step 5

A qualitative interview session was conducted for each household in their private residence with all household members participating approximately 1½ hour. Present at the qualitative interviews were both Kristian Reineu and Simon Wind, but Simon Wind was leading the interview. The interview was documented with audio recording and notes taken by the interviewers. The qualitative interview was semi-structured and roughly followed an interview guide (see Wind 2012). However, the guide was only followed as a guide making the interview explorative, flexible and open for new questions and topics if found important by the interviewer.

Each interview session took point of departure in the GPS data gathered beforehand. This provided a background for obtaining knowledge of activities and routes of the household. The interview were organised in two parts. The focus of the first part was the practical use of the GPS loggers whereas the second part concerned the household's life world and their daily mobility. Each part was associated with a key interviewer leading the interview while the other was taking notes, keeping track of time and asking supporting questions.

2.2 P0 sampling

Four households were sampled within the Greater Copenhagen Area for the pilot study. It was decided to keep the pilot study sample small and flexible even though a large population could have given more experience and knowledge. The sampling was done by telephone from a list of approximately 1000 individuals produced by Sodi¹ provided by DTU. Four households were sampled in this pool. In order to create a simple and comparable environment for the pilot study, households with relatively similar characteristics were sampled. The chosen household configuration was 2 adults with 2-3 children in school age. The reason for this was a need to test the methodological setup on households with, what was thought of as a, relatively complex mobility patterns and furthermore test the practical use of GPS tracking on younger children.

2.3 P0 methodological reflections

One of the key aspects, the pilot study sat out to test, was the active use of GPS maps in the interview session. Several GPS maps were produced and

¹ Sodi is a Danish marketing and data mining consultancy. For more information see their webpage www.sodi.dk

presented based on the idea, it would be fruitful to introduce the respondents to their own GPS tracks. Each of the GPS tracks were identified and analysed by the respondents as a warming-up exercise. This clearly invoked memories of the previous events and doings in the period of the GPS tracking. However, it was difficult to create a lasting bridge between the almost present actions of the GPS tracks and the general questions of the interview. It seemed to serve more as a point of departure for the interview than becoming an integrated part of it. However, the use of GPS maps does show, it is purposeful to apply some kind of icebreaker in the beginning of the interview. The ideal exercise should work both as an icebreaker and at the same time assist the production of new knowledge. Furthermore, the use of time necessary for presenting the GPS maps properly was relatively high and alternatives could be taken into consideration. An alternative exercise earlier considered was the 'mental map' (Lynch 1960). The creation a mental map of the household could work well as a start-up exercise where all members of the household could participate. Even more importantly, the mental map could give new insight on two levels. First of all, how the respondents perceive, prioritize and think of the urban context they live and move in every day. And second, since the creation of the mental map was a joint process, it could also expose how the negotiation and interaction was handled amongst the household members.

The sampling of the four households in the pilot study needed further development before the next phase of data collection. The sampling was decided to be as homogenous as possible in the pilot. The main argumentation was, it would be easier to gain practical knowledge and experience with the methodological setup and the use of GPS. In this way, the results could be compared across the four households with a relatively small amount of bias originating from changing socio economic characteristics. While this was a deliberate strategy for the pilot study, it was crucial the household sampling for the next phase of data collection would encompass a much broader selection of households. The selection should be based on sampling criteria's such as household size, geographical location, age, income, job situation etc.

Interviewing children

The main sampling criterion in the pilot was the household size. Only children families were sampled due to reasons mentioned earlier. While this indeed gave knowledge of the household and their everyday life, the mixture of adults and children in one interview was also source of unexpected practical and methodological problems that needs to be addressed. There was a tendency the interview became unbalanced in favour of the adults, which either rendered the children to non-participating

bystanders or made them leave entirely. This was especially experienced with younger children below the age of six to eight. The reason for this was properly a combination of (too complex) formulation of questions, attention span of young children and the often relatively late time of interviews. On the other hand, the household perceived the interview sessions as a family event or activity and the children were in some cases encouraged to participate even though they showed clear signs of fatigue. In most situations, the parents made a clear effort to include them in the dialogue by guiding them with partial answers to specific questions. And finally in some cases, the children were too overenthusiastic trying to answer all questions thereby taking over the interview giving little useful answers.

The source of this issue is mainly to be found in the questions asked. As Brinkmann & Kvale (2010) points out, different questions and question techniques needs to be employed when dealing with either children or adults in interviews. Most of the questions in the pilot interviews were clearly constructed to suit adults. This needs to be addressed in the next phase of data collection. The children could be left out entirely thereby minimising distractions and time taken up by unusable answers. However, in some of the interview sessions there seems to be indications that, especially older children, aid to the dynamics and a pleasant atmosphere of the interview. Furthermore, they tend to give unexpected answers seeing situations from another perspective than their parents. If both children and adults are participating, the interview guide needs to accommodate this.

Interview guide

Besides the formulation of questions the pilot has brought into attention some fundamental issues related to the creation of the interview guide. The interview guide is the primary tool for structuring the qualitative interview (Brinkmann & Kvale 2010). It is a list of questions or topics that interview should revolve around and is based upon the research question(s). Therefore to create useful interview data there have to be clarity of the objective or goal of the interview and how to achieve it. A relative simple interview guide was compiled for the pilot, focusing only on the household's daily life and the derived mobility because of the limited time for preparation and inexperience with interviewing. This guide was distributed among the topics: socio economic background, everyday life, social relations, planning, future and dreams, attitudes. For the main data collection of both P1 and P2, the main goal of the interviews needs to be more clearly defined and a vision of what type knowledge is wanted is necessary.

2.4 Description of P1 setup

P1 interviews were conducted in the period from December 2011 to January 2012.

The research design for P1 has tried to accommodate the experiences and recommendations (mentioned above) in the development of the P1 iteration. This includes a shift from GPS maps to mental maps; a much broader household sampling; more attention to the adult-children and the interview situation in general; more detailed and focused interview guide (for P1 interview guide see Wind 2012).

Since P1 was only conducted by WP1, the framework was straightforward:

1. Sampling of 7 households
2. Qualitative semi-structured group interview with each household at their residence
3. Transcription of interviews
4. Coding and analysis of empirical data in Nvivo²
5. Documentation and evaluation in report format

Step 1

7 households was subsampled in the cross sample of WP1 and WP3 to ensure access data sets with GPS tracking conducted by WP1 as well as questionnaires conducted by WP3. By using variables data gathered for the WP1 sample, it was possible point out potential respondent households. This purposive sampling led to 7 households much broader distributed amongst the chosen variables than in P0 (see section 2.5 for more information on the sampling).

Step 2

The qualitative interview was, as in the pilot, conducted at the households of the respondents. With only the exception of a few, all household members were present at the interviews. Contrary to P0 the qualitative interview in itself was extended to approximately 1,5 hours. This was only interrupted for 10-15 minutes where the household members were given the task of drawing a mental map of their daily activities and transport.

Step 3

After interview completion the interview were transcribed by Simon Wind and a student worker. In this period of time, the four interviews from P0 were also transcribed.

Step 4

The interview transcriptions were then loaded into Nvivo for analysis. For more information on the analysis strategy see Chapter 3.

² Nvivo is a software for qualitative data analysis. Nvivo 9 is used in the project. For more information see www.qsrinternational.com

2.5 P1 Sampling

The sampling in P1 relied on a mixture of different types of qualitative sampling methods; 'purposive sampling' and 'convenience sampling' (Bryman 2004, Brinkmann & Kvale 2010). However, the main sampling method applied in P1 was purposive sampling, with a wish to create 'maximum variation' (Marshall 1996). The idea was to create the most productive sample for the WP2 study. To select the respondent households, a framework of variables was developed based on the research questions of WP2 (the framework is described at the end of this section). The framework points to specific variables or parameters. The goal of the maximum variation method was to distribute respondents into these, seeking to archive the greatest variation within the sample. At the same time, it was equally important all parameters were covered by the sample. Because of the relatively small number of respondents, this was a compromise between the coverage and the variation. However, most of the respondents did naturally fit into several parameters and thereby making it easier to archive a good variation.

Some level of convenience sampling was also implemented. While it was important to create a theoretical and methodological sound sample, it was recognised that the sampling to some extent had to accept a level of pragmatism. There were at least two main practical factors influencing the sampling. First, the sample was done within the combined population of the WP1 and WP3. This lowered the total amount of potential households for sampling. And consequently, it narrowed the possibility of creating a sample covering all the parameters of the maximum variation method. Second, the available resources of WP2 restricted the sampling. Due to the location of the study in Copenhagen, a significant amount of time, planning effort and money was set aside for each interview. This capped the total sample size for P1 at a certain level.

The methods of purposive sampling and maximum variation can be understood as ideal type methods, which eventually had to be modified due to practical factor such as limitation of resources, sampling pool, etc. Moreover, to do the sampling, it was necessary to obtain information of the households. Some socio-economic information were found in the WP1 population list, since it was associated with a classification and categorisation of households in the CAMEO material (SODI 2009). Furthermore, detailed information on the specific household where found

³ Judgement or purposive sampling: Here, the respondents are chosen specifically in relation to carefully selected parameters. This type of sampling comes in many variants depending on the study.

⁴ Convenience sampling: Where respondents are chosen on the basis of least effort in terms of time and money regardless of "the quality" of the respondents

in a questionnaire survey conducted by WP3. Finally, the households were screened via telephone by asking key question securing maximum variance on the selected variables, as this was the most direct method of gaining the needed overview.

Sample size

It is impossible to determine a universal and optimal sample size for a qualitative study, since it depends estimation and educated decision when the enough data has been collected and when the research themes have been theoretically saturated (Marshall 1996, Bryman 2004, Brinkmann & Kvale 2010). Brinkmann & Kvale speaks of 'the law of decreasing output' (own translation: 'loven om faldende udbytte') meaning that the amount of new insight into a certain theme will decrease as a function of the number of interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale 2010). The ideal sample size could be defined by the number of respondents needed to theoretically saturate a set of predefined themes to a satisfactory level. And furthermore, at the point when new themes, categories and explanations significantly drop. This means, the ideal sample size can only be determined during the process of the data collection.

The framework of variables or parameters

constructed for the sampling was therefore used as a measure for selecting the number of respondents in the data collection. It was estimated, six to eight households would be sufficient to cover these variables reasonably. The main factors constraining this estimation were time, budget and finally the amount of data. Brinkmann & Kvale raises the issue of amount of data through their '1000 pages question' (Brinkmann & Kvale 2010). The major concern was it is no problem to produce vast amounts of data, but rather to analyse and handle it.

This refers back to the ideal approach of making due with as small a sample as possible.

Sampling framework

To create the framework of variables for the sampling process the research questions of the WP2 study was reviewed (see Chapter 3 for outlined research questions). The WP2 study is particular interested in households in the geographical area of metropolitan Copenhagen. Other studies have shown geographical location of residence has an influence of everyday mobility (Næss & Jensen 2005). Therefore, one of the variables was chosen to be the geographical location of residence. Copenhagen was then divided into zones. The distance to Copenhagen city centre (defined as Rådhuspladsen) was also chosen as a variable. In addition to these geographical variables, a fixed variable of accessibility to public transportation was added as a common denominator ensuring that all households in the sample had access to various modes of transport. This was defined as no more than 500 meters from household residence to the nearest bus stop, S-train station or metro (Næss & Jensen 2005).

Since the focus of the study is the household's daily mobility, it was important to choose variables that could have a noticeable influence on the daily mobility. Household income was introduced as a variable for determining socio-economic background. Furthermore, as this study is only concerned with households consisting of one or two adults with one or more children, this was introduced as another fixed variable. However, as a way of detailing the household with children variables on the size of the family as well as the age of both adults and children were introduced. Finally, numbers of cars in the households is included as the last variable.

Household	Geographical location	Distance to CPH city centre - Rådhuspladsen (in KM)	Income (in 1000 kr)	No of cars	No of children	Age of adults	Age of children	High quality accessibility to public transportation	Household w. 1 or more adults + 1 or more children
Family A	Frederiksberg	3	800-900k	1	3	53, 47	15, 13, 10	-	-
Family B	Frederiksberg	3,8	1000k +	1	3	44, 45	18, 14, 9	-	-
Family C	Valby	4,7	800-900k	1	2	36, 36	6, 3	-	-
Family D	Brønshøj	5	800-900k	2	2	53, 47	14, 10	-	-
Family E	Christianhavn	1,8	900-1000k	1	1	40, 42	8, 5	-	-
Family F	Vesterbro	2,6	1000k +	(1)*	2	51, 50	18, 14	-	-
Family G	Frederiksberg	3,6	700-800k	1	1	41, 37	7, 2	-	-
Family H	Hvidovre	9,9	800-900k	2	1	39, 43	16, 2	-	-
Family I	Herlev	11,8	400-500k	(1)*	1	38, 43	16, 13	-	-
Family J	Amager	2,1	400-500k	1	1	47, 46	18	-	-
Family K	Østerbro	2,5	600-700k	0	2	44, 37	9, 6	-	-

Table 1: Framework of sample
variable and WP2 sample



Chapter Three: Analysis Strategy

3 Analysis Strategy

In this report, the term analysis strategy is defined as the description of all analysis of empirical material in the entire WP2 study. The term analysis framework, however, is defined as the methodological setup for the analysis in the study. This means, there can be more than one analysis framework included into the analysis strategy, depending on the nature of the different types of empirical material that needs to be analysed. In this chapter focus will be on the interview material. However, other types of empirical material have also been collected, such as GPS tracking and mental maps. For analysis of these, another analysis framework and methods than those used for the interviews are required. It should be noted, what is presented in this report is mainly the analysis of the interview material collected in the P0 and P1. The remaining empirical material will be analysed in a later stage of the project when all data collection is completed.

Nevertheless besides the analysis of GPS tracking and mental maps, the main elements in the analysis strategy for WP2 can be viewed as two separate cycles in the same analysis frameworks, one for P0/P1 and one for P2. This chapter will briefly introduce the analysis framework used for the interview material in P0 and P1. The main objectives of the data collection in P0 and P1 were to explore the household member's life worlds in relation to their daily mobility. However, before venturing into a new round of data collection in P2, it is important to review, analyse and reflect on the this empirical data. One role of the initial analysis is therefore to act as the link between P0/P1 and P2. The goal of this report and analysis is therefore to be able to sharpen and direct the next data collection even more focused than in the earlier phases.

This chapter contains only a mere description of the analysis strategy applied and not any further argumentation, discussion or reflection on the matter.

3.1 Research questions

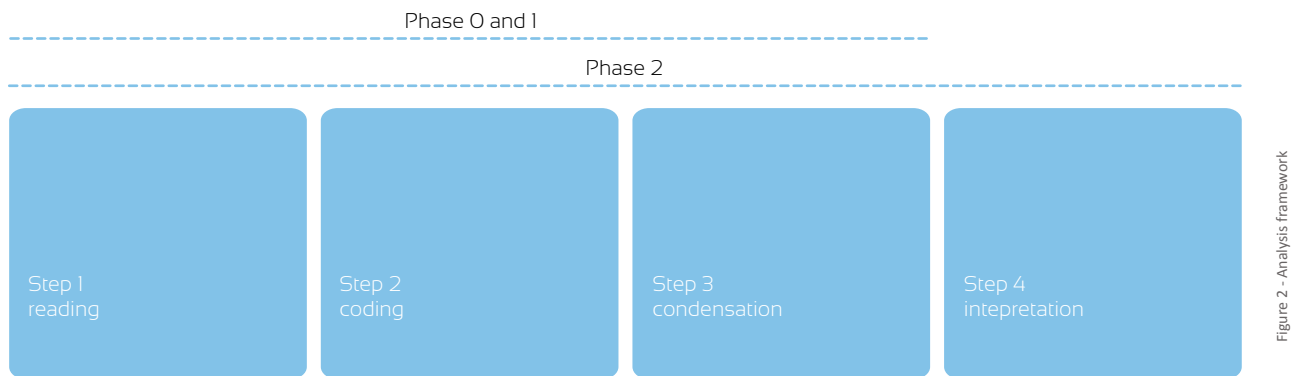
The data collection and data analysis is throughout all the phases of WP2 guided by the theoretical research questions of the project. These are:

How are selected households with children in the greater Copenhagen area coping with everyday mobility?

What are the reasons, motives, attitudes, norms and values that are nested in rationales that drive and guide the household in the everyday mobility situation?

How are children in the households affecting the choices of transport mode, route and destination and the entire mobility of the household?

These research questions have formed the focus of the analysis. However, to get a better understanding of how the research questions have influenced, it is easier to begin with a description of the analysis strategy.



3.2 Overview of the analysis framework

This particular analysis framework draws on major inspiration from Kvale & Brinkmann's description of various methodologies for qualitative interview analysis (Brinkmann & Kvale 2009). The analysis in this study is best understood as a series of steps progressing in one direction. However, in reality it is more complex since it consists of several iterative loops, and is in fact, not mono-directional only progressing forward, but bi-directional as analysing the empirical data requires great flexibility. But for this account, the analysis will be presented in steps. Below is a diagram showing the steps of the analysis framework (see figure 2).

The strategy consists of four key steps:

1. Thorough reading of interviews and identification of codes
2. Coding
3. Categorising and condensation
4. Interpretation of meaning.

The interview material is processed through these four steps. However, this is where the analysis is separated in two isolated cycle, as the analysis for P0/P1 is detached from the analysis for P2. This might sound complicated, but it merely reflects the process of data collection in WP2 in two major portions. The empirical data in P0/P1 is processed in an initial analysis. This initial P0/P1 analysis, presented in this report, will later be added and processed together with the empirical data collected in P2 in a final analysis for WP2. Therefore, the P0/P1 analysis consists only of step 1-3, whereas the P2 analysis consists of all four steps. The four key steps will now be briefly outlined.

Step 1

The first step is a contraction of three elements. First, listening to the interview. Second, make a transcription. And third, do several thorough readings of the transcription. These steps ensure the analyst to become closely familiar with the material as well as this is the first step of identifying codes in the material.

Step 2

The second key step is the coding process. Coding is a systematic method of breaking the empirical material, in this case the interviews, into smaller pieces. The material is coded by creating a series of codes or labels, which the material is sorted or organised into. Holloway explain coding as:

“Coding in qualitative research means identifying and labelling concepts and phrases in interview transcripts and field- notes. The identifying label for the data unit is called a code. Coding is an early step in the analysis of data. Researchers group closely linked concepts into categories. These are often more abstract than the initial concepts.”
(Holloway 1997)

The codes in this analysis are formed from the material itself and the respondents. This means, the data is approached through a point of view of the respondents, ‘a perspective from below’. However, the codes are also formed from the research questions and a theoretical frame and this represents ‘a top down perspective’ in the coding process, where the researcher is the gatekeeper. There is no limit to the amount of codes, and the material can in principle be broken into smaller and smaller parts. Nevertheless, the coding process is slow and time consuming, and the ideal is to seek a balance between coding depth while sustaining satisfying level of saturation of the material.

Step 3

When the material is sorted and dissected into codes, step 3 is commenced. Here, the codes are reassembled, or said differently, condensed into larger categories in an effort to groups similar meanings in the codes. This is done by organising the different codes in relations or hierarchies into categories that might reach across the different interviews. This has two purposes. First, to make the large amount of data and codes operational, and second, to start the process of conceptualisation. This is the first stage in creating new abstract concepts from the empirical data. These concepts can arise from the coding both inductively and deductively and is a way of generating more general concepts than the particular and isolated codes.

Step 4

In the forth step, the different categories and condensations of meaning from step 3 is combined and interpreted and formed into new descriptions. The definition of the type of interpretation used in this analysis draw on Ely et al. (1997):

“.. interpretation means drawing meanings from the analyzed data and attempting to see these in some larger context. Interpretations arise when patterns, themes, and issues are discerned in the data and when these findings are seen in relation to one another and against larger theoretical perspectives” (Ely et al. 1997)

Contrary to the three previous steps, of what could be called a process of ‘de-contextualising’, the forth step is ‘re-contextualising’ or ‘re-assembling’, the codes and categories of meaning, into new descriptions and concepts which is the tentative stage in new theory construction.

Much qualitative research is often associated with an inductive approach. This analysis strategy, however, is neither purely inductive nor deductive, but includes aspects that go in each direction. There are clear elements of inductive nature, since point of departure is taken in the empirical material and the respondent's statements and perspective of their life world. Likewise, the analysis is open for evidence and ideally nothing is a priori ruled out. On the other hand, this analysis strategy does also have a deductive dimension. Part of the analysis is guided ex ante by various external theoretical concepts and pre-understandings, not coming from the empirical data (some argues that all qualitative data is charged with theory since the researcher cannot avoid his own preconceptions). The analysis in this project is explicitly guided by theoretical lenses, and is to some degree, theory-driven. However, this does not entail this study is hypo-deductive. Since the analysis strategy is pieced together of different components and not subscribing to one particular method, i.e. grounded theory, it is important to have a high level of transparency through complete description. However, this will not be done in is report, but in a later stage in the project the analysis strategy will be far more thoroughly described, discussed and reflected further upon.

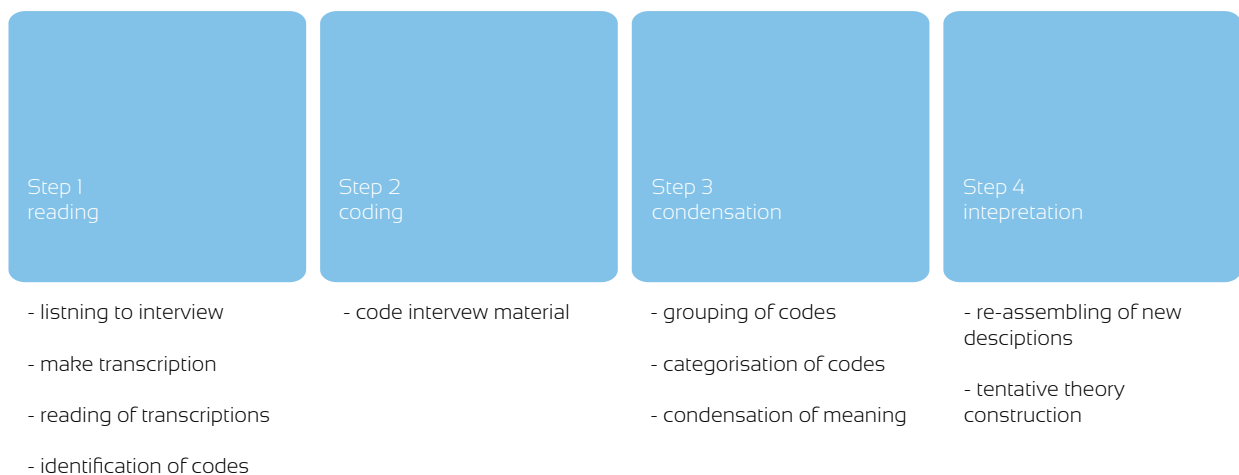


Figure 3 - Analysis framework



Chapter Four: 11 Households

4 11 Households

This chapter is an introduction to the 11 households participating in the WP2 study. The purpose of the chapter is to give the reader a better understanding of the households and their life worlds, to give the empirical data a more human face, before venturing into the analysis of the empirical material. Furthermore, it is also the purpose to show the reader the urban and physical contexts surrounding the households. Since all of the households are families with children, although in different ages, there are similarities across the presentations of the 11 households. Nevertheless, it should also be possible to detect some differences amongst the families, as each of the households is chosen in to have some variation in the sampling variables (described in Chapter 2). In figure 4, the 11 households (Family A to K) are plotted into a map of the Greater Copenhagen area showing their household residence location.

For the sake of anonymity, the precise location of the respondent's residence is not revealed. Likewise, all names in this report are anonymised. Moreover, pictures in this chapter are not directly showing the respondent's households, but showing pictures from the particular neighbourhood of the households.

The household's GPS track maps (household A to D) and mental maps (household E to K) can be found in the complementary report, ACTUM WP2 P0/P1 Empirical Material (Wind 2012).

Legend (following pages):

- * (at metro, train and bus) indicate public transportation is located within walking distance, defined as a maximum of 500 meters.
- * (car) indicate the household own a car but, but was broken down at the time of the interview.



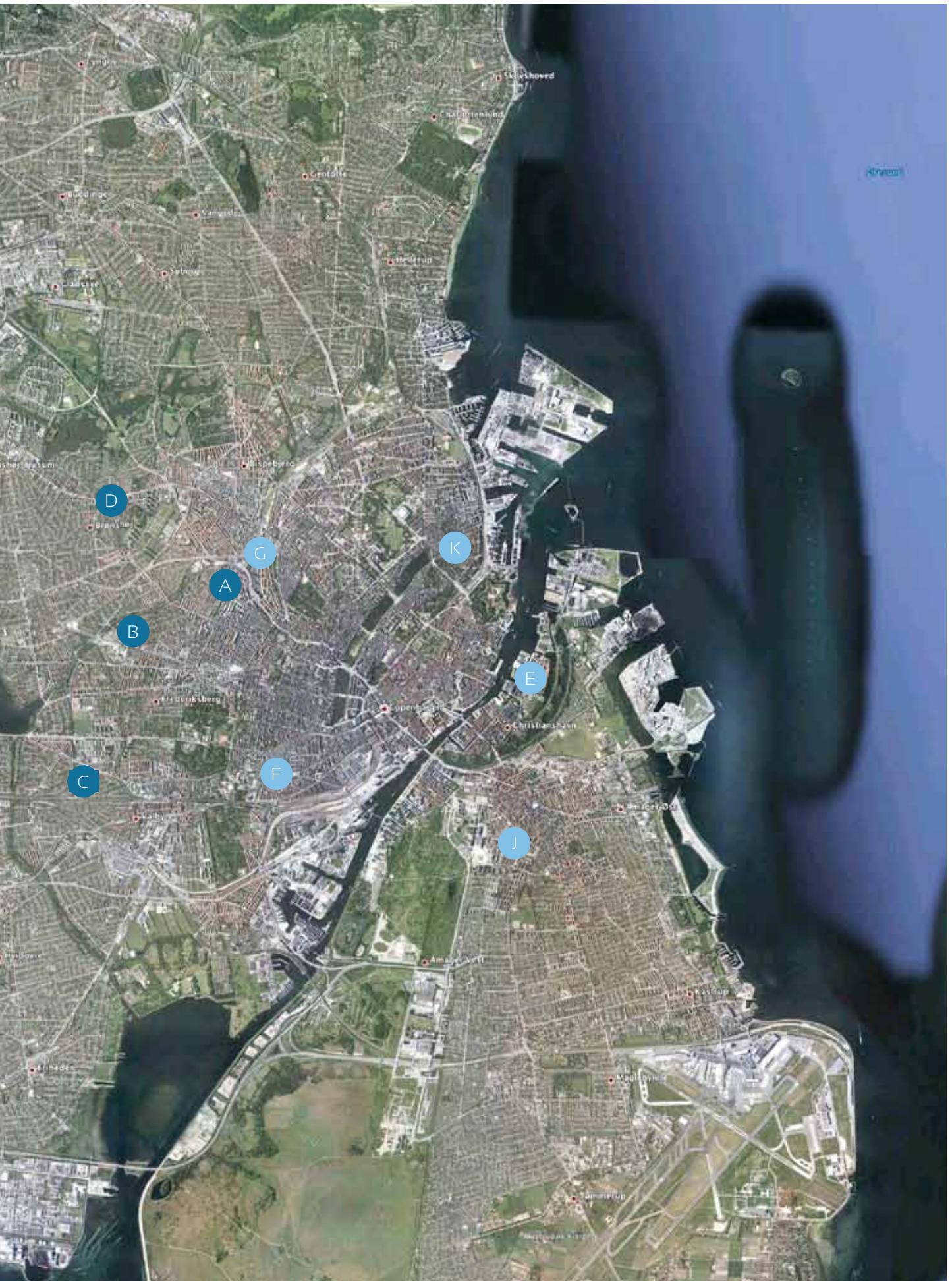


Figure 4 - Location of 11 households in the sample

4.1 Household A

The family consists of two adults aged 53 and 47, and three children at age 15, 13 and 10. The parents are highly educated and both hold well-paid jobs until recently when the mother was dismissed from a management position. They live in a quiet neighbourhood at Frederiksberg. They consider themselves 'city people' and love the multitude of people of in the city. They frequently use public transport, but are also dependent on the car in their daily travel. The children are autonomous in their daily travels, relying mostly on biking and walking. The family doesn't like to too much planning of daily activities and scheduling, and consider themselves 'rather impulsive'. However, both parents have very specific roles according to practical responsibilities of running the family. They live by the saying: 'responsibility not something you get, it's something you take'. The father is the main car driver of the family. He is the only one using the car and his motorcycle as a recreational activity, where he enjoys the sense of freedom. The family leads a busy daily life with many activities. Especially, the two older children have fully booked schedules with school, sport, friends and work activities. On the other hand, the family has a strong focus on 'quality time' and makes sure to take care of the wellbeing of the family. They use the daily meals and weekends as a breathing space and a fixed activity in their busy daily lives.



Household details	Family A
Household Income	800-900k
No. household members	5
No. children	3
Residence location	Frederiksberg
Residence typology	Shared villa
Residence ownership	Owned
Access to car	1 car
Access to metro*	yes
Access to train*	yes
Access to bus*	yes

Table 2: Family A



Figure 5-7: Pictures from the neighbourhood

4.2 Household B

The family consists of two adults aged 44 and 45, and their three boys at age 18, 14 and 9. The parents are highly educated in the medical sector. They are both 'career people', although it is presently the father's career which is in focus. The family home is located in Frederiksberg as they characterise as 'a village in the city'. The neighbourhood is important for the family. It is the mother's childhood neighbourhood. This family is extensive user of public transportation and totally reliant on green modes of transport as biking and walking. They own a car but rarely use it. In fact using the car in the city is seen as a stress factor. The older children are very independent, capable of planning and performing all of their own daily mobility and activities. The oldest child is often occupied at sport activities and often skips dinner with the family. Only the smallest child is still partly dependent on mainly his mother. The parents have clearly divided chores and roles between them, for now they focus on the father's career while the mother takes the greater work load at home. Therefore, the family are using the weekends, when he is at home, for family time, often doing their favourite activity – to relax in their pyjamas' without any plans in front of a movie. Their daily schedule follows stable rhythms, without much fluctuation in working hours. Combined with a relatively high threshold and tolerance for their individual daily doings and activities, this makes it unnecessary for the household to do a lot of daily planning, which suits them perfectly fine.



Household details	Family B
Household Income	1000k +
No. household members	5
No. children	3
Residence location	Frederiksberg
Residence typology	Suburban
Residence ownership	Owned villa
Access to car	1 car
Access to metro*	yes
Access to train*	yes
Access to bus*	yes

Table 3: Family B



Figure 8-10: Pictures from the neighbourhood

4.3 Household C

The family consists of two adults aged 36 and 36, and their two children at age 6 and 3. Both parents have long educations and are holding well-paid jobs. The father's job takes up a bit more time than the mother, who therefore often, is the one bringing and getting the children. They live in a neighbourhood with a lot of children in Valby. To them, this place is the ideal compromise between: distance to work (and new job opportunities if necessary); distance to central Copenhagen and its selection of activities; and the right house and neighbourhood. They like the neighbourhood's almost a rural and calm atmosphere. Another important factor is the great connectedness by public transportation. They are fond of both biking and public transport, but often have to rely on the car. As they say: 'The car is the kit' to make ends meet. The two small children have a great influence on the family's mobility choices, and it is often the needs of them that cause them to use the car. Their daily travel to and from work is handled by bike and public transport. The activity schedule of the household is tightly packed with both work and leisure activities. Although they feel they have 'a packed daily schedule but not above average'. Planning is therefore necessary, and the family like to have the weekly activities clearly scheduled and under control. One of the main aspects of this planning is also to create more quality time with the children and catch up on things. Therefore, travel time to work should be kept to a minimum and 30 minutes seems to be the threshold. Meals are considered main quality family time and holidays are often used to catch up on social obligations with friends and family.

Household details

Family C

Household Income

800-900k

No. household members

4

No. children

2

Residence location

Valby

Residence typology

Suburban

Residence ownership

Owned villa

Access to car

1 car

Access to metro*

no

Access to train*

yes

Access to bus*

yes

Table 4: Family C





Figure 11-13: Pictures from the neighbourhood

4.4 Household D

The family consists of two adults aged 53 and 47, and their boy and girl at age 14 and 10. Both parents are highly educated and work in research related jobs. They live in Brønshøj. They like to be close to the city, the father, who is from central Copenhagen, almost feels Brønshøj is too provincial. The family have been living here 10 years. One of the main reasons to move here is the house and the garden. Another is being part of a mixed neighbourhood something they regard as very important. The area holds many green, nature-like, spots, which they all use a lot. Both parents are frequent car users while the children primarily walk or bike. The family have mixed feelings towards the car; the mother is a passionate driver, whereas the father feels that it is not really necessary to have a car in the city. Nevertheless, the primary mode of transport of the household is its two cars. The parent's jobs are fairly flexible, something they prioritise and enjoy a lot, since they feel it gives them a great freedom in their daily life. This is one of the reasons why the family doesn't feel they need to have a tightly planned schedule. They have a relaxed attitude towards planning and agree that it is important, sometime to take the time and stop, and enjoy the moment. The children's activities outside school are highly prioritised in the family. The parents make a great effort to take part of this and it takes up a large share of the free time. They see it as an investment in the family and their relationship with the children. As they say: 'To have something in common with them [the children] is important. They don't want us to bring them in a few years.' Here they feel the car is a necessary tool to participate. As most families with children, the parents have very defined roles and routines. They believe 80% is routine and the rest are variations. The free time is relatively unplanned, but often includes taking the family's caravan abroad in the holidays.

Household details

Family D

Household Income

800-900k

No. household members

4

No. children

2

Residence location

Brønshøj

Residence typology

Suburban

Residence ownership

Owned villa

Access to car

2 cars

Access to metro*

no

Access to train*

no

Access to bus*

yes

Table 5: Family D





Figure 14-16: Pictures from the neighbourhood

4.5 Household E

The family consists of two adults, aged 40 and 43, and their two children, a daughter aged 8 and a boy aged 5. Both of the parents have taken long university educations and holds well-paying jobs. Both, but especially the mother, have good flexibility in the job. Both have long work hours and business trips are part of their jobs. Especially the father often has to work late on short notice. The family lives in a cohousing flat. They have lived there for 9 years since the entire neighbourhood was converted from industry to residences and offices. They describe it as an 'enclave of highly educated people', many being architects and other creative people. Although it is a 'young' neighbourhood there is a great community, lots of identity and coherence between the people living there. There are lots of families with children and often meet socially. They love the almost rural and 'village like' character, placed in between the 'nature' of Amager, the water and the city centre. The family own an old Toyota, but seldom uses it. As they say 'driving in Copenhagen is stupid'. Both parents are intensive bike users, especially the father for whom the bike is freedom. Both children are very dependent on their parent in their transport due to heavy and unsafe traffic. This puts a bit of strain on the parents between getting and bringing children, job and other activities. The family both prioritises individual activities as well as spending 'quality time' together. Half of the year, they spend most weekends at their allotment garden. The parents go together on bike to work, as a substitute for quality time. They often feel they have a busy life. The children are only participating in a few leisure activities outside school, as the mother says, it simply gets too stressful with everything in their daily life. Planning and organising in the household happens ad hoc and on the move or as the father says, 'all plans liquefies on execution'. Due to unstable working hours, they use their cell phones to do last minute coordination especially in relation to their children.

Household details

	Family E
Household Income	900-1000k
No. household members	4
No. children	2
Residence location	Christianshavn
Residence typology	Urban
Residence ownership	Cohousing flat
Access to car	1 car
Access to metro*	yes
Access to train*	no
Access to bus*	yes

Table 6: Family E





Figure 17-19: Pictures from the neighbourhood

4.6 Household F

The family consists of two adults, aged 51 and 50, and their three children; a daughter aged 18, a boy aged 15 and another older daughter who has gone away for collage. The father works in a bank and the mother is in a managing position at a nearby school. The daughter is attending a high school at Nørreport, while the son is in school nearby. The parents are from Jylland, but have lived in Copenhagen the last 16 years. They live in a quite neighbourhood at Vesterbro, where they own a semi-detached house amongst 235 similar ones. They describe it as a children friendly and provincial-like neighbourhood with slow traffic and close relationship to the neighbours. The father describes it like many types of people but also relatively expensive and therefore excluding. The daughter says it is 'mainly for hip young Copenhageners who like to have kids'. The whole family are heavy users of public transport and bike. They own a car, but it is used very little. Transport for them is mainly instrumental and they choose transport modes accordingly. All of their daily activities non-car based. Both children are highly capable of leading their own transport and activities. The family members in general lead relatively separate lives during the week. However, as the mother says, they do prioritise the meals as a common activity for all family members, this is a place to catch up and connect. Both parents work close to home and could not imagine getting longer commutes. Sometimes long work hours can be stressful for the household. The mother is the coordinator and planner in the household, but as she says, there is not real need for planning as most days are rutinised. They occasionally use cell phone for coordinating, but since the children can handle their own transport, it is less important to plan. The family compensate for the individualised lifestyle during vacations going skiing together and summer holiday. The car is used during the vacations, i.e. the quarterly trip to visit relatives in Jylland.

Household details

Household details	Family F
Household Income	1000k +
No. household members	4
No. children	2
Residence location	Vesterbro
Residence typology	Urban
Residence ownership	Owned villa
Access to car	(1 car)*
Access to metro*	no
Access to train*	yes
Access to bus*	yes

Table 6: Family F



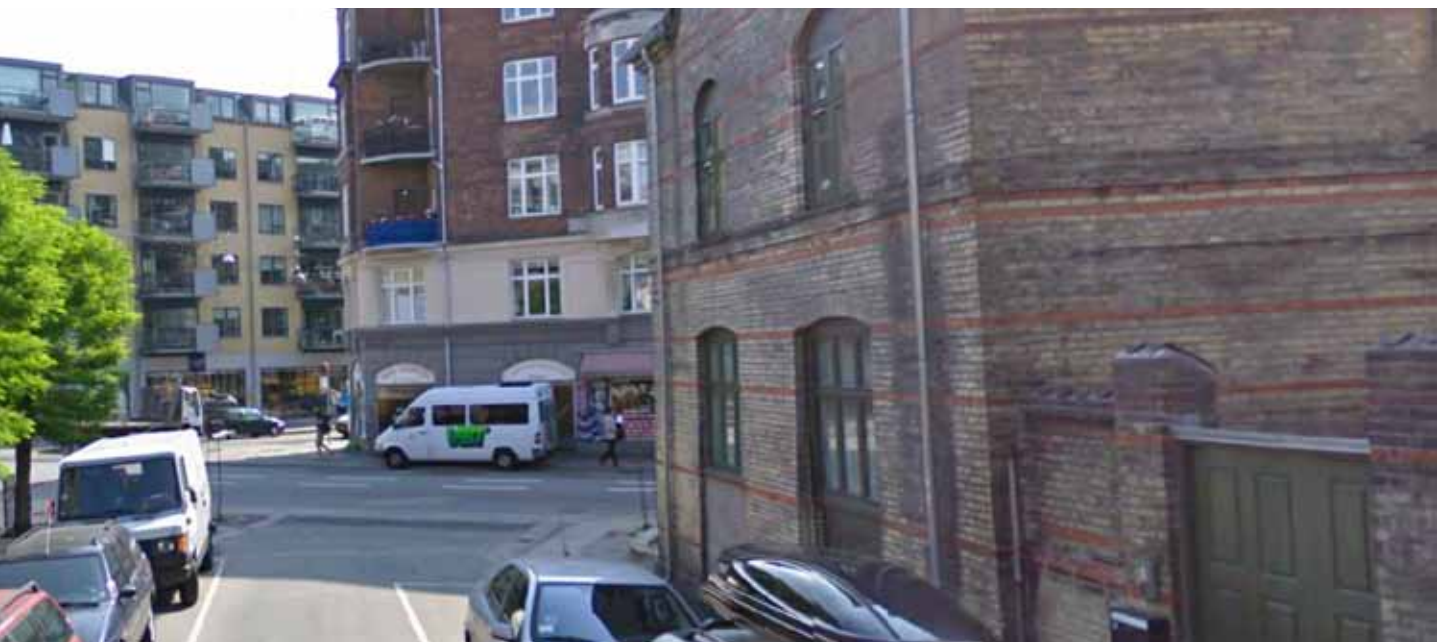


Figure 20-22: Pictures from the neighbourhood

4.7 Household G

The family consists of two adults, aged 41 and 37, and their two children; a son aged 8 and daughter aged 2. Both parents have university educations. Between the two parents, the father is working a bit more hours, and often has to drive to get to meetings and clients. Both parents are from Jylland, but have lived in Copenhagen the last 11 years. The last 9 years, they have lived in a small apartment in Frederiksberg, which they are outgrowing with their two children. They see themselves living in the 'other' part of Frederiksberg, not the cosy village-like neighbourhood but 'on the other side of the street'. They do, however, like the high standard of municipality services in Frederiksberg. They also like the great transport options, as they say, 'transport is a big issue in CPH' and it is important to be connected. It is mainly the father who uses the household's car, whereas the mother combines bike, train and bus to work. This is no issue for her, even though it takes 40 minutes, as she says, 'where she comes from there is only one bus per hour'. They have discussed a second car, but the mother dislike driving and prefer other modes. Their car is mainly used for commuting and bringing and dropping off the kids. Getting around to other activities is mainly by public transport or bike. Most of the parent's daily life revolves around their children, their needs and activities. Daily activities are often limited by the opening hours of day-care. To handle this, much of their life is routinized into fixed patterns, as the mother says, 'the five days of the week look pretty much the same'. This also means the parents don't need to coordinate and plan very much. Their prioritization of activities is straight forward, as the father says, 'at the moment everything is about the kids and again in one year and we will see'. Each of the parents has one leisure activity each a week and this is a deliberate choice to keep stress at bay.

Household details

Family G

Household Income

700-800k

No. household members

4

No. children

2

Residence location

Frederiksberg

Residence typology

Urban

Residence ownership

Owned flat

Access to car

1 car

Access to metro*

yes

Access to train*

yes

Access to bus*

yes

Table 7: Family G





Figure 23-25: Pictures from the neighbourhood

4.8 Household H

The family consists of two adults, aged 39 and 43, and their two children aged 16 and 2.5. Both parents have medium long education and are both working. Due to their youngest child, the mother has one day off every second week, while the father is full time. Their oldest daughter is attending the nearby high school. They own a semidetached house in quite suburban neighbourhood in Hvidovre. They have a close relationship with their neighbours and the father is engaged as a board member in the homeowner's association. They feel well connected to Copenhagen and to shopping options, 'a quite neighbourhood close to the city' as the father says. Both parents have their own car and most transport is done by car. The family bought their second car after getting the second child, enable the mother to get faster to and from work. The older daughter completely capable of handling her own transport all over Copenhagen, she uses train, bus and the bike for local activities. The parents would not mind to use public transport if it was better connected to their work and the commute was the same. The family prioritise being together and spend most of their spare time together, with friends and the neighbours. Since getting the younger child they are restricted by bedtime, which means visiting relative further away is more difficult. Both parents like to be on top of things and planning is an essential part of their daily life.



Household details

Family H

Household Income

700-800k

No. household members

4

No. children

2

Residence location

Hvidovre

Residence typology

Suburban

Residence ownership

Owned villa

Access to car

2 cars

Access to metro*

no

Access to train*

yes

Access to bus*

yes

Table 8: Family H



Figure 26-28: Pictures from the neighbourhood

4.9 Household I

The family consists of two adults, aged 38 and 43, and their two children aged 16 and 13. The children are the mothers from a prior marriage. Both adults have short educations. And both are full time employed, but the mother is on long-term sick leave. They rent an apartment in Birkeparken, ‘Herlev’s slum’ as the mother jokingly says. Even though they don’t have much contact with their immediate neighbours, they generally think people are polite and they feel safe living there. Prior to moving there, the mother had lots of prejudices of the area, but this has changed and they are quite happy living there. Most transport is done by bus or by bike. They have a car, but it is broken down at the moment. They normally used the car for getting to work and visiting friends and family. Now this is done by public transport, which is not problem for the household, as the mother says, ‘you learn to adapt’. Nevertheless, public transport can be troublesome when visiting family further away. Both children lead quite independent lives and are handling their own daily transport. Earlier the children’s needs and activities were dictating the mother’s daily schedule, but this has changed dramatically as they have grown older. Their father is living in biking distance. Closeness to friends and family is something the family prioritises and the weekends are mostly spend socialising. The mother is the administrator in the household, but mostly they are dealing with planning on an ad hoc basis. In general they are quite relaxed and doesn’t mind friends dropping by for coffee.



Household details	Family I
Household Income	400-500k
No. household members	4
No. children	2
Residence location	Herlev
Residence typology	Urban
Residence ownership	Leased flat
Access to car	(1 car)*
Access to metro*	no
Access to train*	no
Access to bus*	yes

Table 9: Family I



Figure 29-31: Pictures from the neighbourhood

4.10 Household J

The family consists of two adults, aged 48 and 46, and their daughter aged 18. They also have a son who is not living at home. The mother is only working in a flex job because of an injury in her back. The father is working a normal full time job. Earlier he had a ‘career dreams’ as he says, but felt it damaged family life. They rent an apartment in Hørgården at Amager where they have lived for the last 15 years. The mother is born on Amager and will, as she says, ‘always stay there’. Her life has changed dramatically since her back injury making it difficult for her to move around. This has also had implication for the whole family as they have to adjust to her situation. Their daily routine is quite fixed, when the father gets home from work, they go shopping by car. This is a chance for the mother to get outside, as her back demands her to either drive by car or train. The daughter is attending a school almost one hour away, but manages all of her transport herself mostly using public transport and sometimes bike. The father is a dedicated car driver, but do not dislike public transport. The family have an aversion against planning. For them planning is an obstacle to freedom and being spontaneous. As the mother says planning ‘is choking people’. The family prioritise spending time together. The last seven summer holidays the family has been on driving on vacation in the Cech Republic.



Household details	Family J
Household Income	400-500k
No. household members	4
No. children	2
Residence location	Amager
Residence typology	Urban
Residence ownership	Leased flat
Access to car	1 car
Access to metro*	yes
Access to train*	no
Access to bus*	yes

Table 10: Family J



Figure 32-34: Pictures from the neighbourhood

4.11 Household K

The family consists of two adults, aged 44 and 37, and their two sons aged 10 and 6. The mother has a university education while the father has a medium long education. They both work full time at jobs located within 10 minutes biking distance from home. Most of their daily transport is done by bike. Although both are raised in car-based communities they both feel driving in Copenhagen is silly, as the father says, ‘if you live in a city with good public transportation, then I don’t want a car’. They don’t own a car, but are subscribing to a car-sharing scheme that they use in rare instances. They live in a cohousing flat in a quite but central street in Østerbro. There are lots of families with children in their neighbourhood, and they are particular involved in their housing cooperative where they feel they have a good community of neighbours. Sometimes they use the neighbours or relatives, who live nearby, for covering the kids. The family prioritises the children leisure and sports activities and spend a great deal of time. The father is soccer coach for the local boys team. Since everything in their life is very local, transport time is not a really a big issue. Nevertheless, they sometimes feel they have a very busy daily life, but are capable of handling it through planning. For them being a family with young children there is a need for planning and structure. As the mother says, ‘we tend to know who is doing what and when and where’.



Household details	Family K
Household Income	600-700k
No. household members	4
No. children	2
Residence location	Østerbro
Residence typology	Urban
Residence ownership	Cohousing flat
Access to car	no
Access to metro*	yes
Access to train*	yes
Access to bus*	yes

Table 11: Family K



Figure 35-37: Pictures from the neighbourhood



Chapter Five: Analysis

5 Analysis

The different themes selected in the initial analysis of the 11 household interviews will be presented in this section. They will not be presented as a fully structured framework, but rather a myriad of emerging and possible themes for further investigation. Therefore, the sequence of the themes will be semi structured and to some degree unsorted. Nevertheless, the themes have been roughly aligned in relation to the three theoretical research questions of the project (see chapter 3 for research questions). The analysis takes point of departure in the fact the 11 households has comparable properties and socio-economic background, as they are all families with children. Thus, the analysis is focusing on the variations or differences that emerge in the empirical material.

The chapter is structured into nine sections seeking to cover the major themes in the interview material. These sections are:

- 5.1 The Residence
- 5.2 Work
- 5.3 Institutions
- 5.4 Leisure and sports activities
- 5.5 Social relations and networks
- 5.6 Skills and competencies
- 5.7 Time
- 5.8 Coordination of family life
- 5.9 Transport choices

Each of these sections has been written as stand alone sections, so that they can be read separately. However, as the empirical material is mainly consisting of qualitative interviews and the themes are not by default nicely encapsulated, there might be overlapping and repeating use of quotes or passages from the empirical material. This merely reflects, the themes intertwinement and the complexity in the daily life of the 11 households in the sample.

Furthermore, the material reviewed in this report must be understood as a selection. Other sections could have been made and therefore the empirical material cannot be seen as exhausted. The various quotes and passages from the empirical material have been picked to present the variety and width found in the 11 households in relation to the nine themes.

Also, it is important to notice this chapter is an initial analysis. As described in chapter 3, the current analysis of the first round interview material is only subject to a 'de-contextualisation' where the empirical material is disassembled and dissected into codes and re-organised into categories (which in turn is the basis of the themes presented in this report). In this analysis, the empirical material is presented as condensed collections of quotes and passages. The empirical material is treated from, what could be called, a 'critical common sense' perspective, defined as a wider relational interpretation, but still within the respondents own frame of understanding (Brinkmann & Kvale 2010). Nevertheless, at times there might be bit and pieces of 're-contextualisation' in the analysis, bringing the interpretation and material into a larger theoretical frame. However, this is not the objective of this analysis and outside the scope of this report, as this will be pursued to greater depths in a later stage of the project.

Throughout the chapter, the terms 'household' and 'family' will be used interchangeably. Household, in this report, is defined as, one or several individuals living under same roof. Family is defined as a household with one or two parents as well as one or several children. As the sample only consists of households with children, the two terms are used interchangeably.

The interviews with the 11 households were conducted in Danish. This means all quotes and passages used from the empirical material has been translated into English. The translation has aimed at conveying the meaning and content of the quotes and passages rather than an actual 1:1 translation. Yet, this is not an ideal process, and there might be instances where the translation does not accurately cover the original Danish transcription of the interviews. All the Danish transcriptions of the 11 interviews can be reviewed in their full extent in a supplement report (see Wind 2012).

5.1 Residence

In the empirical material concerning the household's residence, there are several basic differences. First, the residence typology differs among the 11 households: five live in apartments; four live in detached houses; one in a semi-detached house; one in a shared house between two families. Second, the ownership of the households is distributed between: seven ownerships; two co-housing; two leasing. Third, the households have lived in their current residence on average 10.5 years. Five of households explicitly express a wish to grow old in their current residence if the conditions permits it, five are very willing to move and one is currently considering it. Finally, the residences are located in neighbourhoods of greater Copenhagen with widely different social profile ranging from Frederiksberg, CPH K, CPH Ø, CPH V, Valby, Brønshøj, Hvidovre and Herlev. Particular two households are situated in 'socially troubled' neighbourhoods.

Most of the households in the sample have moved to their current residence in relation to having children. Typically they have outgrown their prior residence, and with additional individuals in the household they simply need of extra square meters. A father explain how the wish for more children made them move:

We had to move because we lived in the city. We still do, but at the time we lived right in the middle of everything by the Glyptotek next to Tivoli. We had a luxury flat, but hardly any room and we already had one child, the one who just left for New York, and we wanted more so we had to find some place else to live [...] (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

Similarly, another father explain how they decided to move due to the lack of space:

Well the short version is when we got Søren [the oldest son] we lived in an apartment on Østerbro. When he was one and a half years old we decided we needed something bigger with a garden or at least some green grass he could play on, because he got eczema from the asphalt in the yard. At the time, it was impossible to find anything with a garden on Østerbro or at least anything we could afford. We wished to stay in the city and that's why Frederiksberg was the obvious choice. (Wind 2012: Family B)

As seen in the quotes above, not only the situation with one child in the household influences the choice, but also the future prospect of additional children. Most of the 11 households use this explanation as having initiated their search for a new home. Also as mentioned in the quotes above, another aspect relating to children is access to green areas. Six of the households are living in detached

houses with gardens and all of the households explain how they use green areas in the vicinity of their residence on a regular basis. A family explain how they use the green areas:

Daughter: When we're at school we often go down to Utterslev moor. For instance, the other day in biology we went there to fish. Outside our school we've this gigantic grass area, which we use a lot when we play ball games and stuff like that.

Mother: We also use it in the wintertime. Do you remember what we do over there?

Son: That's where we celebrate birthdays and toboggan...

Mother: Yes that's right. And you can say we use the moor a lot as well when we need to stretch our legs and go for a walk. Now we mostly do that when we have company, but we also did it when the children were young. It's a nice walk. (Wind 2012: Family D)

Another of the most articulated residence parameters is the general distance to daily activities and the outlook of minimising the daily commute to work. The daily activities of the household with children are for many households spread across a substantial geographical area. Since there is a fairly even distribution of basic facilities and institutions, such as schools, day-care, shopping, leisure and sport activities etc. in most parts of Copenhagen, it seems that the primary concern, in terms of proximity, is the location of the parent's work location. A father explain how work distance incited moving:

... And I had a job here in Copenhagen and mom had almost landed a job here as well. So we decided it was better to live here on Frederiksberg. It's a wonderful area. Quiet with green spaces, but at the same time so close to everything. (Wind 2012: Family A)

Some of the households actively seek a residence location close to work or future and potential work places, while others start by choosing location of residence (in accordance with other parameters such as social networks, institutions etc.) and afterwards find a place of work nearby. A father explain how they decided upon a location in relation to job options:

We wanted to live close to the city because we thought that we would have the best opportunities to find employment here but also opportunity to change jobs. We looked in a radius around the city centre and Valby is located on the semicircle. We looked at forty houses before we found the one matching all our criteria. So we bought it. Later we found out we really liked the neighbourhood, which

of course was a huge plus. After we moved here, a new train station was opened and we are really happy about that. (Wind 2012: Family C)

Likewise, a mother explain how the job was not a primary concern in residence location:

Actually, it has come afterwards. We chose to live here because Marino had this amazing apartment we could stay at together. And it was a nice place to have children. We were lucky we got a larger apartment when we got another child. Then later we have got jobs nearby. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

Similarly, for some of the households, there seems to be a kind of strong fixity to the place of residence, this is likely due to the institutions and social networks of their children and the hassle of moving. At some point the scale tips towards staying put instead of moving for job reasons. A father and mother explain how their commute distance is acceptable at the moment and their priorities have changed:

Father: I think the way things are at the moment are fine.

Mother: When you where at DHI [work] it was even longer hours.

Father: Yes.

Mother: If my work place had moved to Roskilde, I would have been looking for something else. (Wind 2012: Family C)

The proximity to daily activities of work, school, institutions, shopping, friends and family, does not solely consist of the physical distance, but also, and even more importantly, the time spend travelling to and from. A father explain how metro is a major assert in their daily life:

We use the metro a lot. If our bikes are broken, if there is a problem with delivering the children or we have to hurry, we take the bus or our bikes to the market and from there we take the metro. It's a good solution if I have to work on Nørrebro and then there is my mother. She still lives in Vanløse and if one morning I need to leave the children with her, it's actually faster to take the metro in the heavy morning traffic, than go by car. Car to Vanløse takes 40-60 minutes and metro it takes [...] 15 minutes, so that's a lot of time saved. If you are in a hurry you can take the metro directly from Vanløse, where my mother lives, to Nørrebro to work in 10 minutes. So why shouldn't you use the metro in the morning? (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Thus, what the households highlight in the empirical material as important factors is not the physical

distance, but accessibility in terms of availability of the right infrastructure and transport systems. The households use the concept of being centrally placed ('at være central placeret'). This does not necessarily mean to be at the geographical city centre, but rather to be at the center of potential activities in their daily life. By placing the household in the perceived center of the web of high accessibility, the families feel they optimises their conditions for the daily activities and obligations, while maximising the time together with family and children (for more on this see section 5.7 on time). Most of the households in the sample use the level of accessibility, to some degree, as a measure for the quality and attractiveness of the location of their residence, since it is directly related to assembling viable strategies for dealing with their daily life. A mother explains how the proximity to Copenhagen is a quality even though they don't make use of it:

For me it's more about being close to Copenhagen. Being close to opportunities, even though we don't take advantage of them, it's mentally reassuring to be close to a centre where you can have these opportunities whether you use them or not. (Wind 2012: Family C)

A father explains how being centrally placed affords a lifestyle without two cars:

We are pretty well covered. We have two s-train stations within 500 meters and we have two metro stations within 500-700 meters. We have a bus line within 200 meters and everything whether its work, shopping or anything else is in biking distance. That's a part of why we haven't had two cars or never felt like having two cars. That's an advantage of living where we live: Transportation is easy. (Wind 2012: Family B)

A mother and father discusses how the choice of location can become strategic:

MOTHER: Both I would say, it has become easier now, but I remember the first time we had to move. Vesterbro or Østerbro? And when it's even further out: Farum or Virum? Now I can, but you are still better at placing the places, than I am. And I know now, some places for instance Brøndby Strand aren't so desirable. But it has taken us, or at least me, a long time to figure out where one should live and where it's smart. And then you begin to be tactical. We have two children, so we are dependent on driving back and forth at specific times.

FATHER: And then you can ask yourself if you need two cars or one when you move further out. At the moment we only have one car.

MOTHER: Transportation is a very important issue

when people move from place to place. What kind of transportation is available? Are there any S-trains nearby? (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

A father explains how accessibility also can refrain from moving:

Many years ago we talked about moving out of the city and one time we actually went to look at a house on outside of Roskilde on the countryside. There we talked about: 'what if... where to work and going to Hillerød or something instead...' That was one of the reasons for staying put. We are lucky, her job always have been nearby, but we have talked about the possibility going further away within reasonable time distance. [...] (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

Atmosphere

Besides pointing to the quite instrumental characteristics of centrality and accessibility afforded by the urban structure and transport systems when describing the location of residence, some of the households also highlight more ephemeral characteristics, such as atmosphere, community and affiliation. Many of the households, especially those living in suburban areas, describe the atmosphere of their neighbourhoods as 'village-like', 'rural' or 'provincial'. The respondents link these notion to the qualities normally associated with such places. A father and mother describes their neighbourhood as village-like:

Father: It's village-like in several ways. For instance, when you're in Netto, you always say hi and talk to 3-4 people there. You know a lot of people. Here and in the cooperative there's many social activities, and there's another big cooperative on the other side of the canal by Netto. There, you know people from the gym. The children go to the same school and kindergarten. Play soccer on the same team. Another thing is it's pretty dead here after seven o'clock and on Sundays it's completely dead. It's just like a small village – Both mentally because everybody knows everybody and because it's so quite.

[...]

Mother: There was nothing here before. There wasn't even built anything, but we had been here a few times at brunch at Basecamp. Then we drove around on our bikes and talked about how cool it could be living here. Now, it's gotten much more mainstream, back then it was very 'rural-like' and at the same time in the city. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

For them, this means a specific notion of coherence and shared identity amongst the neighbours. But it is also a place with a calm atmosphere and a slow pace. Similar, a father explains how they see their

neighbourhood as a village and they deliberately tries to keep it that way:

But it's a village in the city. I had some of the people from work here for some summer-get-together, they came from Roskilde and further away most of them. The first thing they say when they get there is 'wow, you can't even hear the traffic, we thought you could, here in the middle of the city!'. For them, this is central in Copenhagen, and it's four kilometres from Rådshuspladsen and there are larger roads... If you listen carefully you can hear it, but it's very peaceful. It's very villiage-like. In this, and some of the other streets, we have chosen not to have a firm surface on the sidewalks, its just rubble. That's deliberate to make people walk on the street, it give a totally different atmosphere that you don't find other places in Copenhagen. That's part of it. (Wind 2012: Family B)

A father thinks their neighbourhood is provincially, also tapping into the notion of peace and slow pace:

I think it feels a bit provincial when you stand in front of the house. You might as well be standing in Sorø. It's a good feeling. It's nice when there is a sense of peace even though you're close to a city and a huge road. (Wind 2012: Family C)

What is interesting is the way the households use and relate to different non-urban elements or atmospheres. While this is clear a romanticised understanding, it also shows some of the common ideals for the location of residence, even in the centre of Copenhagen. While these qualities are typically associated with non-urban settings, there are also some of the households who highlight qualities normally associated with urban environments. One of the most common qualities in the empirical material is multiplicity and diversity. A father explain how they like the heterogeneous composition of the their neighbourhood:

It's a very diverse neighbourhood. It's not so homogeneous as a lot of other places, and in particular, the people who have been living here for a decade. There are all kinds of types here, from the farmer, to the teacher, to the bank manager and that's one of the things we like. But when someone sells a house here, it's mostly well off people, who can afford it, that buys nowadays, because of the rising house prices. (Wind 2012: Family D)

Diversity to them is a quality, which they fear will disappear with rising house prices. A mother and father explains how multiplicity is important for them:

MOTHER: But this diversity, all kinds of people in all kinds of colours create dynamics and energy. [...] The province was simply too tight. We wanted

to live in a more dynamic place, with more colours and more culture.

FATHER: And we also wanted to have a family and show our children we were city people who thrives near other people. (Wind 2012: Family A)

For them, tolerance is related to diversity and is a quality they find important, both in themselves, but also in their surroundings. Living in the city entails being close to other people. Most of the households also find very important and a quality there is a strong sense of community. A father explain how they were part of creating the 'culture' in their neighbourhood:

I think, what it's all about, is if you had moved to an 100-150 year old neighbourhood, there would already be one culture, one language and one mentality - you would have to adjust to. Not like here. This is a new neighbourhood. The majority moved here nine years ago. Of course there has been a lot of people leaving and new people moving in, but the majority are still those who moved here nine years ago. Everybody had to find a fundamental culture and that's why people are very outreached. Nothing to adjust to. You can define yourself. And that has probably been one of the things that connect us out here. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

The neighbourhood community is often a strong social network, which can strengthens the sense of belonging. A father explains how they socialise with neighbours:

Yes. There are probably not so many places in Copenhagen where there are this much criss-cross. We are going to a big party on Saturday with some people who live here. It's like this a lot. You see each other. Next month we are going on a skiing holiday with some other people from here. It's a very nice environment and also adult environment. We stick together. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

Similarly, a father explains how neighbours and the community make a huge difference:

Yes. We share the work load, have themes for our 'workdays' and a party in the summer. It's the same people and we have a good time. To explain the whole story, we lived here not more than one kilometer away in a storey building. Lone and I moved in together and we lived there a couple of years, but we wanted a house. We went to look for another house in the houseowner's association and then found this house were for sale. It meant a lot we could keep the children in the school, they were attending, and they could go back and forth on the path, right over here, without crossing any dangerous roads. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Another aspect of the neighbourhood and a strong community is the sense of safety and security. For most of the household, especially those with younger children, safety is a big issue. A father explains how they did not feel safe and eventually this made them move:

One factor to why we moved was the noise in the hallway. The people living in the flat above us behaved in a way that wasn't very nice for us nor for the children. Their children screamed and yelled. So we were pretty tired of living there and chose to find something else. It's not fun to live in a place where you don't feel safe when you come home at night and you can't let your children go down to play unsupervised. This was definitely a factor to why we moved. We didn't feel safe. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

However, for most of the household the bigger safety issue is the traffic situation. A mother explains how heavy traffic was part of deciding to move:

There was pretty heavy traffic surrounding our villa apartment where we use to live. That meant the children couldn't go out and play with the neighbours, there were many things that need to fit together... (Wind 2012: Family A)

Identity

There is an interesting division in the manner the households in different geographical areas answer to the same questions. When asked to describe the neighbourhood, the households in neighbourhoods with a better social profile tends to highlight the positive aspects, as seen above in terms of atmosphere, community and affiliation. Contrary to this, households located in social troubled neighbourhoods, tends to feel obligated to account for the negative aspects and argue for a more nuanced representation of their neighbourhood than the families living in 'better' neighbourhoods. This can be seen as an indication of the households being aware of a collective and general understanding of their neighbourhood and some feel stigmatized by this. But it might also point to the household members as 'consumers', and the location of their residence is an aspect related to the household's identity formation. A mother explain how they live in the bad part of Frederiksberg:

It's kind of 'the Rotten Banana' of Frederiksberg. At least that's what I've been reading. Because it's close. It's characterised by a huge rich neighbourhood just on the other side of the road. There are big old houses you can buy for millions, but it's surrounded by apartments like this. There are some social housing projects as well. The school is a melting pot. We have both children of extremely wealthy parents and children of academic parents. Even though the apartments

are small a lot of academics live here. I think, the average of immigrant children in the class rooms are normal, but there's definitely an upper class here, we aren't used to where we came from. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Another mother and father have a more positive view on their neighbourhood than the general reputation of the place:

Mother: Herlev is... This is Birkeparken, or Herlev's slum as some call it. Social housing projects, but it's a nice place to live. People are nice and it's a pretty safe place to live.

Father: Nice and quiet.

Mother: It is. Or maybe we're just lucky to live in the nice and quiet end. We don't notice anything. And I have lived here for ten years and I still don't notice anything. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

Similarly, a father and mother give a more nuanced account of their neighbourhood beyond good or bad, but as a place they like living in:

Father: No, but the thing you can say about this neighbourhood Hørgården, which we live in, is that it's a social housing project as well as Volsmose and the one in Aalborg I don't remember the name. They exist everywhere, but I would describe it as a nice and quite neighbourhood. Of course we have problems too, but problems are everywhere.

Mother: When we moved out here in '97 and I think we have been witnesses to two or three unpleasant incidents. That's not a lot, whereas Hørgården and Urbanplanen have a lot of problems. People over there are scared to walk the streets at night because the amount of trouble there are. And that's 500 meters that way where a huge road divides and the you have Urbanplanen on the other side... (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Obviously, it is clear in the empirical material, the residence choice is not isolated to one overarching factor. It is a compromise based upon a number of both instrumental and non-instrumental aspects that are interrelated and hierarchical ordered. There are often strong similarities to what the respondents find as attractive qualities and unattractive aspects in their neighbourhood. However, there are of course also deviations in taste and preferences, which reflects the multiplicity of the household members. What is especially interesting in relation to this study is, even though household location is a long term choice, it plays an important part of the household's daily activities and transport choices and how they organise and master their daily life.

5.2 Work

The work status, among the 22 parents in the 11 households in the sample, is divided into: one unemployed; one on long term sick leave; four work part time; 16 full time employed. Ten out of the eleven households explicitly state they employ, or have employed, some kind of explicit work organisation between the two parents to accommodate for the needs of their children. Four of those households, further states the mother has, at some stage in during the children's lives, worked part time. Of the parents working (20 of 22), they spend in average 49 minutes in daily commute to and from work; the men on average 54 minutes and the women on average 44 minutes; the longest commute is 45 minutes, while the shortest is five minutes. 10 out of the 11 households own a car: in five of the households one of the parents use the car in the daily commute to work, while in only two household both parents commute in separate cars. The remaining four households mainly use cycle or public transportation in their commute.

Work organization in the household

Work is the single most time consuming out-of-home activity in the daily life of the households. All of the sample households follow the Danish norm and work organization setup with a dual-earners configuration. Depending on the particular situation, two full time occupations often puts strain on the daily time budget of the household, especially in households with younger children. In the empirical material, almost all of the households explicitly state that they employ, or have employed, some type of work strategy between the parents to be able to accommodate the needs of their children. These work organizations are negotiated between the parents. Due to younger children, only one of the parents can focus on the career, while the other takes the greater share of parenting and daily chores. A father explain how their work organisation enable him to focus on his work:

I started working a new job in Roskilde two years ago. To be able to keep this job, I knew that our roles in the house would be very fixed for a couple of years, because I couldn't fall to much behind at work. Not that we don't some days, but the reason why I could concentrate on my job was that Dorte had short days at work. Otherwise, I probably should have had another job. That's the way it is. (Wind 2012: Family B)

Another father comments on the mother's work situation (being unemployed) and how this affects the rest of the household:

In two years, we haven't seen mom from 7 in the morning to 6 in the evening. That's the way things

have been. Luckily, that's not the situation right now and that's nice. (Wind 2012: Family A)

Even though the household has chosen to focus on one of the parent's careers, typically the father's, in a majority of the households both parents stay on full time employment. The parent, whose career is not in focus, will typically take care of the children, bringing them to and from institutions, do shopping, do a majority of chores at home etc. This is only possible if the job has the sufficient flexibility, i.e. the possibility to work from home, and/or choose own work hours. A father explain how the high level of flexibility enables him to take care of house chores and the children:

No. Yes I do, but I'm never off work in coherent stretches. I always try to make an effort to come home early from work so I can take care of things in and around the house. Go grocery shopping, cook and drive the children. But at the same time, I have plenty of spare time when I'm not to busy at work. But I can have a lot of really bad working hours as well: work in the evenings, weekends or early mornings. Luckily I still have the opportunity to unwind and organise my time. The most attractive part of my job is definitely I can decide a lot of things on my own. [...] We have needed this, the last two years while you were at RUC, but also when you worked at CBS. We each have our roles. We have to. It's actually more like a factory with all these children. (Wind 2012: Family A)

A mother explain how she refrains from extra work hours to make ends meet in the household:

I have to say yes to that. I could have worked in the emergency treatment service center, a lot of practitioners do. But you don't have to do that here. It's a choice you make. I don't want to, because I have lots of work as it is and I have already given so much because of my job... Another thing is, we would have had difficulties finding time for everything. You would have had to adapt to my job and when I would be home. I guess that's a yes. (Wind 2012: Family B)

Another mother explains how it is necessary one of the parents is 'responsible' at home with the many activities and chores related to the children:

[...] My work doesn't take up as much time as Sven's does. I'm more like, now I'm gonna do it and then I'm home, right. It has to be like this so our son can attend gymnastics tree times a week, plus play dates, plus parent's meetings and if once in a while you wanna go out with a friend. But I still think we have a pretty ordinary day. We have a dinner club every week, and that's not a flexible activity. (Wind 2012: Family C)

Nevertheless, in four of the households, the mother does in fact reduce work hours to compensate. Another factor is the work-residence distance, which also can influence the need to work part time. A mother explains how their young children have affected her work hours mainly because of a long commute:

When I think about it, the commute has really had a huge influence on me. As a matter of fact, I have gone down in hours and that's, among other things, because I use to work full time plus the extra 40 minutes I spend on commute. And that was simply too much time if you have to make your everyday life work and be able to pick up and bring the children. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Another mother explains how she is mainly the one picking up the kids:

I guess maybe 60:40 because I work part time. I normally leave work around 3.30 and dad leaves at 4 o'clock. And if I don't have any errands to run I'm normally the one to pick up the children before it gets to late. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

While most of the parents on reduced hours, spread the reduced hours over the week, one of the households has chosen a different solution. A father explain how the mother is taking a full day off every second week:

No Lone is working 33.5 hours a week. It's like that because she every other Monday takes a day off. Instead of leaving at 16 or 15.45 or something like that she has chosen to take a day off. But I work full time. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Not surprisingly, this skewed work constellation is particular necessary with the presence of pre-school children that are not capable of attending to their own needs and transport to and from day-care and kindergarten. As the children grow older and become more autonomous, the need for extended care through i.e. part time jobs diminishes and the parents can equally focus on their work life. However, some of the households have chosen another strategy foregrounding family life instead of choosing a career path. A father explains:

While I worked as a butcher in Ishøj I had many ambitions and I worked long hours- Most of the time more than 70 hours pr. week. And when I worked at Gerorg Frost I also had a lot of overtime, but it was actually my family who paid the price and that's something I discovered. The money is great but its way to hard on yourself and your family. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Only one of the household in the sample explicitly state they have a balanced work organization where

both parents equally share the task of attending to the needs of the children, while also prioritizing family life above work life. The mother talk of the their roles:

We do, but it's not like we can't say that one day Marino has evening shifts and another day I have them and then Marino takes the day off. [...] But we definitely prioritise to work as close as possible, especially now when the children are young. I don't know if we would prioritise differently when we don't have to drive them back and forth from soccer. We might. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

Job conditions and obligations

Many of the parents in the households have flexible jobs and this greatly enhances the possibility to accomplish daily life in a household with children. Being able to adjust work hours according to the partner or spouse is a clear advantage when especially younger children are present. A father and mother talks of how flexibility in their jobs allows them to organise the family life:

Father: Mom can't receive a text the first two hours in the morning. That's, however, the two hours in a day were I have the most energy. And then it's reversed in the evenings. I guess it started when the kids where younger and you wanted to deliver the children in day care, or something like that, and then you just come into a rhythm. And I also had a job were I had to meet in late in the day. It's always been easier for you to leave early [from work].

Mother: Yes it fits me perfectly to come in early because all my students slowly meet around 9-10. Then I have a couple of hours to myself to catch up on a lot. Then you can give them a couple of instructions, go home and they will work until 8 o'clock.

Father: But we do have flexible jobs. We could have chosen what we wanted to. You definitely can't say our jobs have been dragged upon us. (Wind 2012: Family D)

A father explain how the flexibility in the mother job also gives the father a flexibility in his work life:

It gives me a sense of flexibility in my job because I probably work more than mom does. If I had to deliver the little one at 6.30 the kindergarten would be closed. I have the opportunity to stay longer, but then mom can't, but if she needs me to pick up I will. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Besides the ability to flex and rearrange work hours, another advantage, a few of the parents jobs includes, is the possible to work independent of the physical location of work, i.e. working from

home or working while commuting. This increases the possibilities to make ends meet in daily life and cope with unforeseen circumstances and incident that needs immediate attention of the parents, such as taking the child to the doctor, attending events in school etc. A mother and father explains the advantages of flexibility in their jobs:

Mother: My job is flexible as well. I can work from home, if for instance the children are sick or have a doctor's appointment. I plan my own day.

Father: We can actually bring the kids to work- of course we hardly ever do it, but my point is we can if we need to. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

The obvious result of this flexibility is a situation where work starts to infiltrate family life. For some this is unwelcomed mixture, while for others it is successfully integrated into family life. A father explains how work and family melts together:

Personally I feel it's important to have time for each other. That's something I prioritise very much. To come home and have dinner together are very important things for me. If I have to work, I take out my computer when we are finished tucking the little one in. That actually happens often. We all sit and enjoy ourselves and I can work at the same time. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

There are often specific demands, conditions and obligations related to the parent's occupations, that affect daily life of the entire family and the household members have to deal with. The rhythms and hours of work do, for some of the household, create restrictions but can also create some opportunities. A mother and daughter explain how the fathers work hours influence the rest of the household:

Mother: Dad works every Sunday as an organist. That means we cant go on trips every Sunday.

[...]

Daughter: Sometimes he hardly ever works, for instance in the summer vacation, other times you never see him, especially during Christmas. (Wind 2012: Family A)

Likewise, a father explain how nightshift both have positive and negative aspects:

Earlier when we had changing shifts, we were off work at different hours. When you got home from a night shift, then you could take the kids to school and then have some time for yourself. That time is gone as we now have regular working hours. On the other hand, then we have the weekends, where earlier in average, one of us had a shift every other weekend as well as the weekdays. (Wind 2012:

Family B)

Another common condition in some of the parent's work life, is the necessity to be on the move, i.e. attend meetings physically located elsewhere, out-of-house assignments and courses, as a part of work. The longer trips, such as business trips and courses with stay-overs, do impact family life by putting extra strain on the other partner/spouse. However, the shorter out-of-house trips, such as client meetings and multi-sited work places, do also influence the rest of the household, typically by seizing the household's car. A father explains he uses the car if work is dislocated from the usual location:

Usually I ride my bike to the train station where I take the regional train to Roskilde. My job is right next to the station there. The days where I have meetings elsewhere, for instance different places in the region, I take the car, but that's not every week. I have to take the car or else it's too time consuming if I for instance have meetings in Slagelse or Sorø. This week, we had a theme day where we went to this place alongside Roskilde Fiord. I went by car. But normally it's bicycle or the train. In the daily, we don't use our car. (Wind 2012: Family B)

A mother explains how the car is normally allocated by the one picking up the children, however, the father's client visits tends to overrule this:

It's probably because I get off work earlier. I leave before Casper. Even though, we said the one who picks up the kids use the car, it's normally Casper who has the car, because he has to visit clients, and if he has to go to 2-3 places a day, he needs to drive. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Commuting to work

The choice of transport mode used for commuting to and from work varies between the 11 households. It is influenced by some of the aspect mentioned above: who is picking up the children (if needed); does the partner/spouse seize the car; the physical distance; the time expenditure with potential transport alternatives (outlined in section 5.1 concerning residence). But it is also affected by a series of other non-instrumental aspects such as identity formation, culture, social norms and conventions etc. (this will be explored further in section 5.9 concerning transport choices). Approximately half of the households use at least one car in their daily commute to work, and moreover, finds this as a necessary decision to manage daily life. Below is a mother and father's statements in relation to car use:

Mother: Saturday evening we took the train. I was there the entire Sunday and then I came back home again later in the evening. It was the 3rd. It's a part

of my job. That means, while I'm away, the one who is at home with the children has the car. I prefer to take the train as well. That's what I normally do.

Father: Both of us can manage one way or the other without the car. That means it is the needs of the children that decide who has the car. I can just as well take the train if Mille needs to use the car, and sometimes when we both need the car we call our moms or dads.

Mother: The car is 'the kit'. But we use it primarily to fit things together, not as the main transport. (Wind 2012: Family C)

This gives the necessary flexibility to handle multiple purposes during the commute, such as shopping on route to bringing/picking up children. Moreover, if unexpected event should occur the car is perceived as a better and more versatile option. A father and mother talk of how the car enables them to handle multiple purposes:

Father: The weather, and if we need to do something. If I have and teach at 8 o'clock, I don't ride my bike. Sometimes I take the train and the bus or sometimes I take the car. I probably use all three equally, but because Mille are the one who mostly pick up the kids I'm stuck with the train and bus. It's the one who picks up who has the car.

Mother: It depends a lot on the weather and what the children has going on during the day. If you have to pick up the children to bring them home you need the car and vice versa when our daughter has gymnastics you need the car as well. (Wind 2012: Family C)

A father explains when they got their second child the mother switched to commuting by car:

Mom use to bike to work – the same work as she has now. We got the opportunity to get a second car, which we did. Then mom rode her bike half of the time and drove half of the time, but after we have had our second child, she uses the car all the time just to pick up before closing time. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

A daughter state there is always a level of uncertainty surround public transport and this favours car use:

In some jobs it's necessary to drive around to meetings. Sometimes you don't have time to depend on public transportation, because you can never be 100% sure they will be going according to schedule. There is always a risk. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

While half of the household use cars, in only a few, both parents are using cars in their daily commute.

The rest of the parents employ bicycles and/or public transportation. Most of them do so mainly because their work place is close enough for them to bike or well connected to public transport. Other conveniences for non-car based commutes are also highlighted by the households, such as bypassing rush hour, car traffic jams and search for expensive parking spots. It is clear, it is mainly the short commute, and avoidance of inconveniences associated with the car, that makes non-car based commuting attractive, since all of the 11 households, save one, owns a car. A mother and fathers talk of the attractive aspects to train commute:

Mother: And I think there is one more thing, the destinations we have are perfectly placed, when you think of the different kinds of transportation we use.

Father: And a third thing as well. Because we take the S-train, which is pretty efficient and reliable, it's not like Kystbane [a train line with massive delays]. It works in a very effective way. If we experienced delays we would definitely consider a second car, since we couldn't live with that. Things need to function and go according to plan. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Another father highlights his aversion for car based commuting:

We are pretty well covered. We have two s-train stations within 500 meters and we have two metro stations within 500-700 meters. We have a bus line within 200 meters and everything whether its work, shopping or anything else is in biking distance. That's a part of why we haven't had two cars or never felt like having two cars. That's an advantage of living where we live: Transportation is easy. I don't take the car to work which many of my colleagues who live nearby do. I like to walk across Valby bakke and then relax on the train. If I were to take the car I would become stressed about finding a parking spot or worry about roadwork further ahead. When I wait for the train I have no influence on its safe arrival. It doesn't stress me. But that's just me. People are different. (Wind 2012: Family B)

Even though the job conditions and family obligations often dictate a need for the car in daily life, there is a great deal of transport mode variety in empirical material. Most parents state they can choose among several travel alternatives for commuting to work depending on the situation (i.e. meetings at work, partner/spouse car use, children activities, weather conditions etc.). Interestingly, the parents in the seven households who use the car on a daily basis, always use their car depending who needs it the most. Contrasting this, the households who owns a car, but does not use it on a regular basis for commuting, tends to solve their daily commute without the car, and state they only use it in unique situations.

5.3 Institutions¹

Whereas work is the single most time consuming activity in the parent daily lives, the institutions can be considered the equivalent in the children's lives. Since all of the households in the sample, follow the norm of both parents being earners, this also affects the lives of their children, who likewise follow the Danish norm of being institutionalised from a very low age in either nursery or day-care through kindergarten and school till 9th grade, as well as attending some kind of after-school care. The youngest children, who attend nursery, day-care or kindergarten, are the only children in the sample who the households report driven by their parents by car or cycle. None of the older children have car-based commutes. Most of the pre-teen children are either walking or biking to school themselves. And only the older teenage children are using bus and metro (or bikes) in their daily commute to school.

Younger children's interdependent mobility

Only a few of the 11 households, articulate in the empirical material, considerations about choosing institutions for the younger children (this might also be because, it was considered outside the scope of the interview and was not pursued, since it might have some effect in residence location). Some of the older children are attending high schools, or the like, quite far from the residence, indicating this is a deliberate choice. All of the households are using local institutions for their younger children. While there is not any confirmation of this in the empirical material, it could be due to the convenience of local proximity to home and the potential of the children enabling autonomous commute from an early age, as well as being part of the social neighbourhood and gain friends close to home. Other studies show, the urban structure and organisation of the infrastructure, is a major factor in the children's mobility and daily commuting to institutions and schools (Næss & Jensen 2005, Fotel 2007). Five of the households live in suburbs, relatively safe from heavy traffic; the remaining six live in more densely built up areas closer to urban centres with heavy traffic infrastructures. While the suburbs cater for non-motorised transport modes via small roads with speed restrictions and networks of walking/ bike paths connected to the institutions of the area, the safe routes in urban centres are fewer and rely on tunnels/bridges and often cannot avoid large crossings over busy streets. A father explains how residence and school location is a factor in relation to safety:

[...] We wanted to keep the children in the school they were attending, so they could go back and forth on the path right over here. There you can

bike all the way to school. More or less without crossing any dangerous roads. ... (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Even though the households located in the suburbs are situated in what is perceived as safe environments for children and protected from heavy traffic, there are no clear explicit variation in the empirical material of when the children are considered old enough to commute alone to intuitions and schools. In the sample, children aged nine to eleven, around the 4th grade, are allowed to commute between home, school and after school institutions on their own. Children, below this age, are always accompanied with an adult or an older siblings when moving around. Two children explain how they get from kindergarten to school:

Son(youngest): No, around 20 children go together

Son(oldest): Yes together with a couple of kindergarten teachers

Son(youngest): Two kindergarten teachers

Son(oldest): And they pick up the small ones.

Son(oldest): The school is divided in the smaller classes, the middle classes and the older classes.

Son(youngest): Samuel [the youngest child] is in 4th grade, but in ours, it only goes up to the 3rd. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

A mother explain how safety is a major concern for her when commuting with the kids:

I normally have him on my bike and she rides alone on her own bike. If anything should happen i can't just jump off my bike without taking him from it first, and thats why i always try to ride on more secure roads. (Wind 2012: Family C)

Besides the danger posed by moving traffic, another important aspect, which might also contribute to the circumspection of the young children move independently in the city, is the fear of crime and strangers. Although there is no empirical indication of this in this material, this might also add to the understanding why children in the perceived relatively safe environments in the suburbs are not let alone in moving about in the neighbourhood at a younger age. A mother and father discusses how it is not only traffic that constitutes a risk, but also strangers:

Mother: They have to really... Frida can be very sensible, but sometimes she can freeze a bit in the traffic.

Father: Yes. Prinsessegade is our biggest concern.

¹ In this section an institution is defined as either nursery, day-care, kindergarten or after-school care.

It's the trip Frida has to go to get from school and home, but it's also where Christania is located. Most people out there are harmless, but there are the occasional drunk or haschish abuser who romes the street.

Mother: The cars go very fast and the taxies park on the sidewalk. It's very chaotic, but there has been talk of renewing, because there are many institutions and schools in the area. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Nevertheless, young children are always accompanied by older persons and this exact interdependent relationship is one of the greatest restricting factors and obligating aspects in daily life of the households with younger children. Bringing and picking up is in most of the households taken care of by the parents themselves (none are currently using babysitter or older siblings to do so). This means the bringing and picking up is a central part of the parent's daily commute. A mother explains how their morning commute is organised:

Our daughter rides her own bike, and our son wants to, but is primarily on my bike. When they were little, we always left a bike trailer at the kindergarten. The nursery and kindergarten were at the same place. It was one of those trailers we could strap to the bike. We have had many speculations, if we were to purchase a Christania Bike, but then we would have to ride to work on it after dropping of the kids and that's a bit of a hassle. And it differs who picks up, and if you have to bring both children home or just one. Especially, now when it's two different places. For us, a typical morning is that we all leave together, drop our daughter off at school and then on to work. Sometimes if I have to deliver both, I go from school on to the kindergarten. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Some of the households have very fixed routines for who brings and picks up and at what time, but often, it is a bit more flexible and the parents coordinate with each other, either during the morning or during the day (for more see section 5.8 concerning household planning and coordination). When the children reach kindergarten age and starts playing with friends after institution time (play dates), it happens that other parents pick up the children. A father explains how the children initiate new configurations for bringing and picking up:

Today, for instance, our son had to be at the kindergarten already at 3 o'clock for choir practice. That meant we had to text or call each other in the afternoon, to agree on who did what. When it comes to our everyday life we have to plan as we go. Sometimes we also have to bring the neighbor's boy home with us. He attends the same afterschool program as ours and they play together. Because we live in an area where a lot of classmates and

kindergarten peers also live it's very common to pick up and bring each other's children. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Independent mobility of children

The transition to towards independent mobility of the children is not only a revolution for children, but also for the entire household. This signifies a radical chance in the household's possibilities and allocations of resources. However, there is a transition phase where, especially the parents, has to adjust to the new situation. A mother explain how it is difficult letting go:

Mother: Yes. They'd like to, especially one of them [the kids going alone].

Father: Soon we're at the point where Frida can walk back and forth from school.

Mother: Next year she can. Right now a branch of the school, from 1st-2nd grade, is located further away. The rest of the school is closer to us. But Christania and Prinsessegade is a challenge with the chaotic traffic. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Another mother explains how they current transport pattern is temporary and it will change in a few years when the children gets older:

If it's five days a week, I'm on reduced hours now, then it's the same as biking 10 minutes which equals my commute time. However, it doesn't last like that, because we have a need for picking up the children right now. In a couple of years, they themselves can go home after school, and then they don't care one bit if we are home at 4 or 10 to 4, or whatever... (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

The children in the sample have their first independent mobility experiences around the 4th grade. Most of them start by commuting to and from home to school and in some cases to after-school activities. They use routes they know by heart through continuous repetitions and safety lessons from their parents. Handling ones own mobility is a vital part of growing up. A father and mother discuss the importance of teaching the kids about the risks in traffic:

Father: The only right thing to teach one's child, is in a big city the traffic is potential danger. Remember to look in both directions. Beware what's happening on the street and around you. Even though you take precautions, it doesn't mean everybody else does. We have spent a lot of time telling them to take care and be on the lookout, because if they don't, no one else will. But often they forget.

Mother: We can't always be there holding their

hands. They have to learn to stand on their own two feet and be able to say that 'i take responsibility for myself'. It gives them a sense of personal satisfaction to be able to say 'I did this on my own'. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Later they start going to their after-school activities by themselves, if they are situated in the near vicinity of home. Despite of the children being perfectly capable of attending to activities on their own, many of the parents in the sample, continue to go along with them (or drive them). In the empirical material, the households present, a number of reasons for this, i.e. driving the soccer team to an away match, spending time with the children, involvement in the children's lives etc. (see section 5.4 concerning leisure activities). A father explain their daughter is starting to be more autonomous:

It will be nice when they get old enough to walk themselves. When they can go wherever they want to. Our daughter goes to saxophone by her self. Earlier they couldn't have activities overlapping other activities because what if one of the grown ups were away. Each day of the week had to be filled with activities, but now they can take lessons at the same time. (Wind 2012: Family D)

Similarly, a mother explains how things have become much easier due to the kids capability to handle their own transport:

[...] Ours are big now. Ruben rides his bike alone to football and if Caroline has something, she bikes alone too. If she is want to visit her father she takes the bus there, eats and return home. They do everything themselves. It's a lot easier than it was just 4-5 years ago. At that time I had to take Ruben to football and other activities all the time. We don't need to do that anymore. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

Finally, during teenage years the children are completely capable of moving around in the Copenhagen area. Attending to schools located at a distance from home is no longer any issue and navigating in the city and finding unfamiliar places, is mixed between tabbing into tacit knowledge of bus and train routes and schedules and using tools like Rejseplanen². A daughter and father explain how transport is no issue:

Daughter: No I have been to that school before. I know the way. It's right next to another school I've been to. It's a new school I'm starting, It's called EGU. It's for young people with difficulties reading

and writing. I will be there for two years and one year of work experience

Father: But you have attended other schools in Avedøre and used public transportation. You have actually used it quite a lot. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

A daughter explains how she uses Rejseplanen when going unfamiliar places:

I use the Rejseplanen a lot. If I'm going somewhere I've never been and I have to take the bus, I use the travelling guide. [...] Gradually I've learned different stations on a lot of busses - sometimes it's just the time schedules I check. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

² Rejseplanen is a danish web service for travel planning, containing travel information of bus and trains, hosted by the Danish Railways. For more information see www.rejseplanen.dk

5.4 Leisure and sport activities

The participation in leisure and sports activities is usually unevenly distributed among household members, normally in favour of the children. All of the children in the sample have at some point participated in leisure activities. The most active participants are aged from around nine to sixteen. Some participate in up to four activities on a weekly basis, while the norm seems to be one to two activities. The changing extents of the leisure activities do also explain some of this variance, i.e. playing soccer often entails two practice sessions and one match every week in the season, while playing the guitar is seldom more than an hour a week (not counting practice). A son reviews the extent of his soccer activities:

Son: Yes, I have soccer practice two times a week and we also play a match, so that's three. And then I practice...

Daughter: Yes at least two hours after school

Son: So that's a lot. Soccer is really a big part of my life. (Wind 2012: Family A)

Soccer and swimming are, by far, the most popular leisure activities. All of the male children have at some point practiced soccer, except the infant children. A majority of both boys and girls have attended swimming as a leisure activity outside school, probably because it is no longer mandatory in school, but still considered a basic and obligatory skill by many parents. Secondary leisure activities include various types of martial arts or playing an instrument. The most popular leisure activities among the parents are running, and for some, going to the gym due to its highly flexible nature. Only a few of the parents perform these activities on a regular basis, and most of the parents who do any physical exercise, squeezes it into the daily schedule where there is room. Furthermore, it is a common attitude (among the cyclists), using the cycle in the daily commute is covering the need for exercise, or at least being better than nothing.

A mother explains how her main leisure activity is the family:

I just hired my son to be my personal trainer. Well, I really don't have any specific leisure activities besides my family. I love going for a swim. DGI, the city's swimming pool, is just across the high school. But I read, and I love to read, but besides that I don't have any activities. (Wind 2012: Family A)

Another mother explains how physical activity is part of daily life:

We don't do anything besides running and going

to the gym. Those are things we can do whenever we have some spare time. We don't go to activities because then we would have to be at a certain place at a certain time. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

However most of the adult household members don't feel they have time for sport or leisure activities. One father explains:

I have soccer practice. I either ride my bike or take the car there, but it depends on where it is and how much time I have. I don't have any other leisure activities other than the homeowner's association where I'm on the board. My wife doesn't really have anything besides the baby. That takes up a lot of our time. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

The majority of the parents have either none or one leisure activity as they prioritize their children's activities and the co-present socialising with family and friends in their spare time. Therefore, one of the characteristics of households with children is the extent of leisure and after-school activities, and how these become influencing factor in the household's coordinating and organising of daily life.

Planning of leisure activities

The jigsaw of fitting leisure and sports activities on top of work, school and other obligations in daily life, are for some the households, a very difficult task. Especially, when the children are attending several activities this might put extra strain on the entire household's schedule. For some of the households in the sample, the beginning of every (sport) season poses a serious challenge. All activities need to be aligned and negotiated between the household members. A father explains:

It's very hard to plan for more than one activity. All of the sudden they can change the time for practice and then it's overlapping another thing, for instance, swimming. He [the son] just changed soccer club and had practice every Thursday, but Thursdays he took swimming lessons. It's impossible to switch to another swimming club in Copenhagen, but we have managed to get him in Friday evenings at 6.30. That means you have swimming lessons tomorrow. But it can be difficult to coordinate more things during the summer, because the different associations haven't planned everything yet, but it always works itself out... (Wind 2012: Family D)

In the empirical material, younger children and their leisure activities, are highlighted because of their dependency on older household members, typically the parents, and the influence on the daily mobility and organisation of the entire household. The older independent children who attends activities on their own, does not influence the household to the same degree. This is very similar to section 5.3 and the

children's ability to autonomous commute to and from institutions. Nevertheless, there are differences in the sample households that increase the need for co-mobile presence between child and parent. First, the leisure activities are not necessarily, as most of their institutions, situated in close geographical distance from home or have safe routes connecting to them. Also, many sport activities include playing away-matches against opposing teams on a regular basis. A son and father outlines the extent of attending to soccer:

Son: Yes. It's normally on Sunday mornings or Saturday afternoons.

Father: We take the car... (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

Second, the leisure activities are located outside school hours, sometimes even in the evenings. A mother explain:

[...] Daniel just started taking music lessons and it's on Amager. We ride our bikes home at five o'clock when it's rush hour and dark outside and that can be a challenge. But I guess, if you live in the city you might as well get use to it. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

Third, participating in leisure activities is sometimes considered a family activity and some parents see this as an opportunity to spend time with their children and involve themselves in their lives. A father explain how got involved in the children's sports activities:

When she went to handball, we drove her twice a week, waited while she practiced and I actually ended up being the assistant trainer. Our children are very important to us and so is our commitment. We have driven them a lot, yes, but they have also had to use the public transportation themselves. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Hence, for many reasons the leisure and sports activities, of particular younger children, greatly affects the parents (or older siblings) since they are required to be present, at least in the transport to and from. This does not only impact the long term planning and rhythms of the parent involved, but it also influences the daily cycle of the entire household. A mother explains how sports activities earlier affected the household's daily schedule:

Ohh yes. We had to plan when we could eat dinner. Then you had to do the cooking, or I had to do it earlier that day. You would heat it up for Caroline and we would eat when we got home. The days Ruben had soccer practice, I took him, because you were still working. And we had dark bread for dinner or sometimes Ruben had oatmeal. When we got home at 6.30-7 o'clock it's just easier to eat something, that doesn't take to long. We probably got more dark bread in that period, than we have

gotten any other time. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

Activity logistics - going to and from

The children's participation in leisure activities often influences the whole household, or several of the members at least, because their lives are tightly enmeshed into each other. Some activities are quite expensive both in terms of money and time. Equipment and fees are monetary cost related to most leisure and sports activities, but what is highlighted in the empirical material, is mainly the time expenditure. Many of the household in the sample portray the major challenge in their daily life as the successful mastering of leisure and sports activities, in relation to institutions, school, work, social obligations etc. In households with leisure activities, where co-presence in transport is needed, the car is often used as the fix. A mother explains how they cannot make ends meet without the car:

It depends a lot on the weather and the children's schedule. If you are taking the children home, you have to have the car, and vice versa when our daughter has to go to gymnastics, you also have to have the car. (Wind 2012: Family C)

Similarly, another mother explains how the car enables them to lead a lifestyle where the children can attend to leisure and sports activities:

To take the children to their sport activities. The fact that we have two children, pretty much plans our transport. We could, for instance, never be without a car. Or, we could if we didn't have enough money, but we also have a car because we want to make use of those activities we find fitting for our children. We can pick them up earlier and deliver them later. The children's activities are essential to how we use transport. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

As stated in the quotes, the children's participation in leisure activities is a strong incentive to own a car, if it is financially possible. Nevertheless, as also stated, the household would also be able to handle a situation without a car, but they have organised their daily life around the car. Sometimes in households with more than one child, even with the use of a car, both parents are involved in the transport to leisure and sports activities due to the tight scheduling. A mother explains:

No you can't. Daniel has to be a bass no later than four o'clock and Rasmus has to be at soccer practice at 4.30 the same day - that means the same person can't bring both children. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

For some household, the constellation of leisure activities, child and designated parent is completely fixed and routinised, while for other households there is a greater flexibility in this constellation. A family review how routines characterise their daily

life:

Son: Mom normally takes me to soccer and dad brings me to swimming practice.

Mother: And then we take turns bringing him to guitar lessons, because sometimes one of us has a meeting

Father: Yes and I think to myself once in a while, I want to see him play soccer as well, and then you make a couple of changes. So it's probably 70-80% routine and the last 30-20% we take as we go. On a regular basis we already know who picks up and who brings.

(Wind 2012: Family D)

All of the households with younger children in the sample articulate experiences with this. Even though the transport is not always done by car, the leisure activities are a strong incentive for the parents to travel with the children. Households with older children, who participate in sports activities with away matches, are often driven by their parents, but as the children grow older and their mobility becomes more and more independent, so does the parent's level of involvement in the activities. This frees up time in the parent's lives. A mother explains they are in a transition phase:

It's not until now we have energy to negotiate. If I have activities a couple of times during a week F has to do his activities some other days. Otherwise, we do a lot of things in and around the house. For instance, we both like to run. It doesn't have to be planned for. It can be when we have half an hour. It's not an issue. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

In the empirical material, the children who are the most active leisure activity participants are aged between nine and sixteen. The older children in the sample (aged from 15 and above) can be divided into two main groups, the highly active, where the leisure activity plays an important role, and the non-active, who rarely or never participates in any activities. In the sample, those belonging to the highly active are mostly boys who play and coach soccer (the only two older boys in the sample). A son explains how this daily life is structured around his involvement in soccer:

I play soccer, am a soccer judge and teach soccer. I spend a lot of time on the soccer field. And when once in a while I'm off, it's because it has been raining so much that they have to close the field. Then I'm home doing my homework or hanging out with my friends. That's what most of my time go with. (Wind 2012: Family B)

The older girls in the sample are far less active in leisure and sport activities and spend more time on other activities such as part time work, friends,

school and family. This might be explained by gender and socio-cultural reasons, but here, it is important to point to the narrowness in the sample. However, the particular situation of the older children, whether they participate in leisure activities or not, do affect the rest of the household and this is an indication of how the household prioritize and organise in their daily life.

Opposing strategies – prioritising and organising daily leisure and sports activities of the households

As outlined above, the number and organisation of leisure and sports activities as well as the travel it generates, are influenced by many factors, not only counting the aspects mentioned here, but also includes economic resources and social and cultural dimensions. There is a great variance in how the 11 households in the sample prioritize and organise their activities. At one end are the households who prioritize a highly active and organised lifestyle with many leisure activities. In the sample, this often comes at the cost of the parent's leisure activities and tends to involve car-based transport, if co-mobile presence is needed. If the children are older, this tends to favour a more individualised household, where the household members' schedules are less aligned. A father explains how at times this active lifestyle is difficult to juggle:

It's probably going to be a little bit easier this season. Last season they had activities 6 out of 7 days and sometimes even 7, depending if they had any matches. Each day they had something. You even had to drop drama, because it was at the same time as handball. (Wind 2012: Family D)

A mother and son outlines the son's normal, quite individualised, schedule:

Mother: You have dinner at home once or twice a week right? I mean, with the rest of the rest of us Or some periods are like that, and some are more easy going.

Son: Yes it's because it's soccer season right now. And we already have matches in a month. And because it's in the weekends I'll have a lot more time during the week. I guess it varies depending if it's summer, spring, winter or fall. (Wind 2012: Family B)

At the other end are the households who prioritise a daily life with less fixed, less predefined and typical less organised leisure activities. This makes more room for other activities such as social meetings, shopping, etc., or might simply counter time pressure and stress posed by work and school, and create more room for family 'quality' time. A mother reviews the household's activities:

I don't think we have that many activities compared

to others. Our children aren't participating in much. Our son practice soccer and judo, but our daughter isn't participating in anything. Well... She swims with the other kids from the after-school centre. We have tried this and that, but when we are taking about time, it really means something you don't need to drive. I think it's really exhausting if they participate in too much. On a normal weekday night you only have 2-3 hours to do all the practical things, if they then have to be driven to and from on top of that. Plus they want to paly with friends, plus they have gotten animals that have to been taken care off. There are many things that have to be taken care of within 2-3 hours. We don't either go to any sports, except fitness or running. Such things you can do when it fits in. We don't go to any activities that are at certain hours. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Just as other activities of work and institutions, leisure and sports activities play a major role in the household daily life, attending to leisure or sports activities are part of the idealised image of the family. Following this, these activities add meaning to the household member's lives, as well gives them an understanding of themselves. Therefore, leisure and sports activities are also part of the household member's identity formation. For many households this means, leisure activities are as important as work and social obligations and cannot simply be removed. Part of understanding how the household is mastering, coping and organising daily life and mobility, is therefore tied to understanding of the significance and importance of the household's activities.

5.5 Social relations and networks

Other research has shown, the significance of the social relations and networks as powerful drivers for mobility in the household (Larsen et al. 2006). This section will investigate the empirical material in relation to social networks on three levels. First, a family level, which outlines where the households immediate relatives and to what degree they are a part of their life. Second, a friendship level, which highlights the household's social networks of friends and the frequency and type of social activities. And third, a neighbourhood level, which points to the social relationship between the household members and the neighbours.

The social network of the family

The parents, from the 11 households in the sample, have grown up in various parts of Denmark. In five of the households, both parents are born and raised outside the metropolitan area of Copenhagen (three from Zealand, seven from Jutland and one from outside Denmark). In six of the households, both parents are from either Copenhagen or the greater Copenhagen area (seven from suburban areas and five from central Copenhagen). In only one household both of the parents originate from respectively Copenhagen and Jutland. Most of the grandparents in sample are still living in the area where the parents grew up. The location of the grandparents and other close relatives, such as siblings, uncles and aunts etc., play a role as there seems to be a connection between distance and frequency of meetings, although it is not strongly articulated in the empirical material. The frequency of meetings is higher, the closer the relatives are living from the household. Nevertheless, none of the households in the sample claim to meet with relatives during the weekdays (mon-fri) on a regular basis. A mother and father explains they see the fathers parents less because they have moved further away:

Mother: He's parents live in Brønshøj.

Father: So did yours, but when they moved...

*Mother: Now they live in Vordingborg, which means we don't see them that often. But my sister lives in Lyngby. That pretty close and we see her often. And your parents we also see they often, since they are nearby.
(Wind 2012: FAMILY I)*

Living close to relatives does not necessary entail being part of the household's daily life. Some of the households seldom meet with family although they are living close by. A couple explains:

Mother: Your mother lives nearby and so does your

sister.

Father: We don't run on each other's doors, but be know we are close... That nice to know... (Wind 2012: Family A)

When meetings with relatives do take place, it usually happens in the weekends. In the households with younger children, finding time in the weekdays for meetings can, however, be a challenge. Some find other ways of keeping a close connection with their relatives, such as phoning while commuting, thereby utilizing the excess time during travel. A father explains:

But I also use the time twice a week to speak to my grand parents. I call when i am in the car, because during the evening, around 730-8 o'clock you dont have time to phone around... Then you just do it in the car [...] And drive from home to visit my grand mother on a regular basis in the weekends. And then sometimes a walking trip. She lives 10 kilometers from here. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

A rather large part of the sample has close relatives living outside the metropolitan area of Copenhagen in other parts of Zealand and some even further away on Fyn or Jutland. The distance and travel time exceeds what most households are willing and capable of spending in their daily life. This means meetings are placed in weekends and holidays. For households with family furthest away, meetings are usually organised only a few times a year. A father and mother explain how they only visit home a few times a year:

Mother: Almost to rarely. It's once every quarter, right? Every second month then.

Father: Six times a year I think.

Interviewer: Do you then visit both Kolding and Als [the parents birth places]?

*Father: Yes. Sometimes we combine it. Sometimes, its nice to be one place and sometimes the other.
(Wind 2012: FAMILY F)*

A father review their weekends and frequency of meeting relatives:

Sometimes we have guests or we have to go mother in law, it happens every second month, she lives all the way done in Haslev. Or then you have to go on a Sunday bike ride or to a childrens service at the church or something else. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

A mother explain how visits are few in the daily life, but often gets 'packed' into the holidays:

Mother: We see my parents, but it's always related to something pratical. It's not like they just come

over for dinner. But then sometimes we meet other people. But mostly it's difficult just to get it arranged.

Father: You're better than me.

Mother: In the holidays we take revenge. Then we see everyone! (Wind 2012: Family C)

Traveling far with young children require time and coordination and is one of the explanations why some households prefer the well-organized meetings during weekends. Households with older children can easier get away with spontaneous visits and social activities, also because it is not obligatory the children have to participate. A father explains how it is difficult traveling with their youngest child:

Its because her naptime is between 12 and 3 o'clock. Then we can be in Hasløv at 4 o'clock [visiting the mother-in-law] and then we almost have to drive home again. We have to drive at 5 o'clock to get home to make dinner. This means we don't see my mother-in-law very often at the moment I'd have to say [...] (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Contrary to this is the account of this mother:

[...] North Zealand, some nights we go there [visiting relatives]. It's 50 kilometers. It's manageable. Eventhough grandma thinks its far, she says 'oh my.. it'll get too late'. Then we just go up there and then she says: 'well are you up for a cup for coffee or what...?'. It's doesn't have to be so freaking organised all of the time. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

A mother and father explain how their teenage children are not interested in visiting relatives:

*Mother: They were, but not anymore [the kid's enthusiasm of visiting relatives]. If they don't want to or... usually they're not going. They just sit there and are bored: 'I want to do something else...'.
Father: 'When are we going home? You said just one cup of coffee and we've been here for two hours now. I want to go home.'
Mother: They don't bother going anymore as they grow up. But previously they always went. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)*

Although the social network of the relatives is not always strongly included and enmeshed into the household's daily life, some of the households state they make use of the relatives if the parents are unable to cover the daily situation. However, households who do not have any relatives living nearby have to find other ways of coping. A couple explains how the father's mother sometimes helps them out with the children:

Mother: And then we have grandma we can call, if it's necessary.

Father: Yes. She lives in Vanløse. She is a senior and can easily get on the metro and pick up the kids if it's necessary. Usually she knows in advance. We both know when we both have evening meetings. Then we call and ask if she can pick up the kids and take them home. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

A father explain how they use his parents as a last resort:

Both of us can manage one way or the other without the car. That means it's the needs of the children that decide who has the car. I can just as well take the train if Mille needs to use the car, and sometimes when we both need the car we call our moms or dads. (Wind 2012: Family C)

Contrary to these accounts, a mother explain how they have no close relatives nearby:

[...] We had a nanny a couple of times. We had a fixed day a nanny would pick up the kids once. But it would definitely be different if you had someone around [relatives], where you just could say: 'Grandpa always picks up Mondays' or 'Grandma goes to gymnastics'. There isn't anyone besides us to do it. When the kids are participating in karate and swimming lessons and children birthdays and play dates it's difficult to see when Casper can play golf or I could... (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

The social network of friends

For most of the households in the empirical material, friends seem to play a much larger role than the immediate family. Activities and meetings with friends are not only confined to the weekends, but also occur during the normal weekdays. Contrary to the often geographically dispersed location of relatives, the children's friends are almost exclusive living in the near vicinity of home, usually in walking or biking distance. This enables most of the children to sustain a close relationship with their friends, as they can visit them without the need of co-present parents for transport. Some households with younger children (who actively have friends) arrange day dates, often organised via their institutions. Also, bringing a friend home after kindergarten/after-school institution or vice versa is a normal practice. Two sons reviews the location of their friends:

Son (youngest): I think it's nice because many of my friends live nearby and we can play.

Son (middle): I also like living here. There are four to five of my fellow classmates in this neighbourhood. (Wind 2012: Family B)

A father notices how play dates often are arranged

on-the-fly and therefore needs communication:

I can't imagine living this life 15 years ago before people had cellphones. If I didn't have a cellphone to coordinate, for example our daughter called from the afterschool-centre and asked: 'can I go home with Alma', and I said, 'of course but put Alma's mother in the phone so we can arrange when to pick you up at Almas' [...] (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

The older children, who are more independent and capable of traveling on their own, meet up with friends not confined to the neighbourhood. Their social networks are often larger and far more geographically dispersed. Contrary to the younger children who have formal play dates at each other's homes, the older children meet in more informal settings, 'hanging out'. The temporality of these encounters can be very short lived, i.e. spanning only a few minutes in shared commute. For some of the older children in the sample, these temporalities can only occur at specific times mostly during the weekends due to a heavy weekly schedule of school, work and other activities. A son explains how he sometimes hangs out with friends on the move:

Son: I don't always go the fasted route home. Sometimes I go with some friends a bit further, after I could have taken a right.

Interviewer: Just to go with them?

Son: Yes, it nice. Then we separate after going down a green path together. A little extra time together. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

A daughter explains how spending time with friends is almost confined into the weekends:

Daughter: And then there needs to be time for friends and then it's almost not spare time. There needs to be room for everything.

Son: Mostly in the weekends.

Daughter: Yes, friends are mostly in the weekend, that's where I have the most spare time. (Wind 2012: Family A)

For the parents in the sample, meeting friends is often organised as a regular recurring event. In the empirical material, two main types of meetings occur. First, the most common are household-to-household meetings with entire households including children. The duration is often longer than the fleeting and temporary commute meetings of the children. These formalised meetings tend to revolve around a specific activity, usually dinner. As with the relatives, these meetings usually occur in the weekends due to the difficulty of synchronising entire households during the busy weekdays. Several of the households

have friends who have children matching the age of their own, or some have become friends with the parents of their children's friends. A father explains how they often meet with another family:

Hehe too little. We have another family we see once a week, either at them or us. We see them regular. They are the relations we see the most [...] (Wind 2012: Family C)

A mother and father review the location of their friends:

Mother: Lots of our friends... Either they live in Hellerup or then we have some friends who are their [the kids] best friend's parents that live right over there.

Father: We have friends all of most of the greater Copenhagen area. (Wind 2012: Family A)

This type of meeting occurs in most of the households. However, some of the households have this type of relationship with close relatives instead of friends. Second, there is a type of parent-to-parent meetings where the parents, either individually or in couples, meet with friends, but mostly without the children. While these are also planned and formalised meetings and often include a meal, either lunch or dinner, they can also be about shopping, playing boardgames, going to the movies, sports activities etc. These meetings occur not only in the weekends, but also in the weekdays for lunch or after work, since the parents are usually more flexible alone than if the entire household is involved. A father explains how he regularly meets with friends after work and play games:

Some nights, once every second week or something like that, I meet with my friends straight after work and then we eat together and play board games and stuff like that. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

A mother explain how she also typically meets up with friends after work:

If I think of my girlfriends, they are somewhat scattered. Those I see the most are the ones who live nearby. The ones from high school they live completely different places. Then there are some from the university... The typical meetings is a weekend, Saturday, Sunday thing [...] Often, I meet with one or two girlfriends straight after work and then gets home late in the evening. That's the way we do it, but we don't do it together. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

A father explain how they see a group of friends every third week or socialise with neighbours:

Yeah we often see friends or someone. But those we

meet with, it's around every third week. We like to have a couple of weekends where there is quite, but then there is always something in the homeowner's association or somewhere else. It's very seldom we have a weekend where nothing happens. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

The households with older children have greater opportunity to participate in such social activities, than households with younger children, without it becoming a burden for the household due to the dependency of the children. In the empirical material, younger children often pose the restrictive conditions that limitates social meeting with friends or family. A father explains how their social life changed when they got children:

No, that was before we got children. We often did something straight after work. We met in the city and ate or went to the cinema, once in a while went home to some friends or something else. Now it's just to get home at 4 o'clock, get going and get the kids, either for one of us or both. In that way we are more organised. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

However, a few of the parents in the households, who also have younger children, bypass the restrictive conditions by taking turns going out meeting friends one at a time while the other takes care of the children. These are also part of the households that lead a more individualised lifestyle (see section 5.4 concerning leisure activities). The overall tendency in the empirical material is that households with the younger children are organising their life towards household-to-household meetings, whereas households with older children are more free to use both types of meetings. Interestingly, households who have older children usually still go on household-to-household meetings even though they are not restricted by the children. However, at this stage it is often the children who skip these meetings, prioritising other leisure activities or socialising with their own friends.

Meetings and mobility

As described above, the household's social networks of friends and family are geographically dispersed. Some have networks gravitating closer to their residence, while others have networks extending hundreds of kilometers away. In the empirical material, choosing the transport mode to get to these meetings are influenced by multiple factors such as the distance, the presence of younger children and the preferred transport mode in daily life. In the sample, the parents who almost exclusively uses the car for work and leisure activities, also uses it for meeting friends and relatives (albeit this also has to do with the distance). The parents, who express they sometimes use non-car transport modes to get to social meetings, are also predominantly non-car users in their daily

life. For these households, if the circumstances are reasonable, they will seek to solve their transport by the modes they are used to. Only if the conditions are perceived as amply insurmountable, the household will turn to the car. The conditions, which leads to this 'tipping point' of switching to car based travel, therefore vary greatly from household to household. A mother explains how they mostly use their bikes or the train to visit friends and only very seldom the car:

Actually most of them [friends] still live in Copenhagen and we go by bike when we visit. And then I have a few who have moved out of the city, there we take the train. If it's extreme then we take one of the shared cars and if it's a place where you cannot go by bus or train or if we are coming home late we take one of the shared cars and drive. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

A daughter explains how they (and many she knows) only uses their car for visiting relatives further away:

[...] I know there are many of my friend's families that own cars, but many of them doesn't hardly use them. They are very much like our family, they have their relatives elsewhere and they use the car to visit them, but else they bike or take the bus. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

The likelihood of choosing car-based transport mode rises with increment in distance to the destination of friends and relatives. Only a few of the households use non-car modes for visits outside of the Greater Copenhagen area. The main reason for this is limited accessibility to a car. One of the households in the sample does not own a car but often lease one when necessary. This forces the household to closely consider if the car is absolutely needed. The mother explains:

Mother: [...] Then sometimes we are visiting friends and once in a while we are at the countryside in a normal weekend. Then we take the car and visit my parents. But typically we go to Vesterbro and to the Italian School and then some friends over or visiting some friends. It's usually very local.

Interviewer: How long does it take to go there [the parents]?

Mother: 1,5-2 hours. Then we stay in Rødvig. I grew up in North Zealand, but they have moved to south of Køge. You'd save 30 minutes if you took a car. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

In another household in the empirical material, the car has recently broken down. While, this has not stopped the household from visiting friends and family, it has forced them to use non-car modes of travelling. The mother explains:

[...] And until recently, we have driven by car, if we had to go anywhere, to family and the like. It was pretty easy. But now we take the bus, and we do so frequently, but I don't think it's bad. Our family still lives, at least your parents and my sister, they live central and there are busses nearby. If I have to take the public transport to Vordingborg [location of grandparents] then I feel is a long trip. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

Nevertheless, all of the households (except the one where the car broke down) claim they use car for long distance travelling to friends and relatives. For most of the households traveling outside the greater Copenhagen area with children, this is a major challenge without a car. Some find it completely impossible, especially going to the rural parts of Denmark, while others see the car as a practical luxury they could do without. For one household in particular, the car is a necessity when they are to travel to connect with friends and family due to a medical condition. The mother explains:

His mother lives in Dronningmølle and his father lives at Fyn. And my sister we can walk to, it's just over there. His sister lives in Hvidovre and since I can't go by public transportation then we drive or stay at home. Or we take a taxi, but usually we don't do that on the way out, but sometimes in the other direction. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

A mother explains how they cannot go without a car:

We have sometimes discussed if we could do with the car, and you can when you live in here [central cph]. But we're both from Jylland and the great challenge is the transport further away. Four persons in a train going to Vorbasse, that just not possible. Compared to where we live and the transport opportunities we have, then the car is needed to go far away, and we often need to. Those trips to Jylland, we prioritise them and we drive a lot when we go. We wouldn't be able to do those trips without the car. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Similarly, another mother explains how it is very difficult getting to her parents without a car:

My parents have a house on Langeland which we use sometimes. It would also be unbearable not having a car when we went there. And many of our friends have started moving further away from the city. And visiting friends outside the city without a car and with kids, that's just... There are some things where it's practical to have a car and that's what we use it for. (Wind 2012: Family B)

For another household, the car is luxury making travelling with children a bit easier and more comfortable. The father explains:

It was very nice, because it's a luxury to have a car. For example, when we go to mom's parents in Ølstykke. If it gets late in the evening and the kids are tired, then it's troublesome to take the train. In that way it was nice to have a car, but we could easily live without a car. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

The car enables the households to string together and execute social visits of greater distance without being restricted by public transport routes and timetables. In some of the households, even though most of the daily transport is non-car based and the car is dominant most days of the week, they still prioritise it, despite the economic weight, to be able to connect to those extraordinary activities such as long distance social visits.

The children-to-children meetings are, as with much of the other children mobility, restricted by their competencies and capacity to autonomous transport. The youngest children are taken by their parents (or other parents) to visit friends on play dates. As most of the children's friends are living nearby (this almost seems as a condition for friendship at this age), most of the children in the sample can from a young age travel on their own, starting by walking and later biking to and from residences of friends. A son explains how he gets around to friends:

Interviewer: What about your friends, do you just walk to them?

Son (oldest): Yes, we just walk, its walkable to most of them.

Interviewer: You said you had a friend living at Nørrebro, how do you get there?

Father: It's only when they are in the 'play group'. Then we get them by bike. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

As the children gets older their social network also expands, getting new friends who are far more geographically dispersed, i.e. in high school or other leisure or sports activities. Some have friends who move away, but at this age, the children are capable of meeting each other. Furthermore as mentioned above, social meetings are no longer confined to the residences, but also spread out into the city and a variety of activities. Therefore, besides walking and biking, the children also start using the public transportation of bus, train and metro to connect. A mother explains:

Ruben's friends live around Brønshøj and Herlev and he bikes a lot. And Caroline has friends... She either takes the bus or she bikes. She decides in relation to the weather [...] Depending on where they can easily do it themselves [if the kids can get around in CPH themselves]. Caroline can at least. I'm not sure about Ruben. Ruben could easily get to

his aunt or to his grandparents if he wanted. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

The social neighbourhood network

Another important social network in the household's lives are the people in the surrounding neighbourhood. The households in the sample have in average lived at their present residence for 10.5 years. Most of them have lived there long enough to become integrated into the place, as well as gotten to know their neighbours. The households in the sample have different types of relationships with the people in their neighbourhood. Some are very engaged and partaking in local social activities, while other remains more anonymous and isolated to the surroundings. Four of the households in the sample are detached houses in suburban neighbourhoods, while seven have residences in denser urban settings. In the empirical material, there is a clear division of how the households describe the relationship to their neighbours. Most of the households in detached housing describe their suburban neighbourhood as having 'village-like' characteristics, pointing to aspects such as the closely knitted social relationship between neighbours, common activities, low traffic volume, small scale streets and low density. Most of the households have close friends within the neighbourhood often via their children and this creates an atmosphere of belonging and cohesion in the neighbourhood (for more see section 5.1 concerning residence). A father and mother describe their neighbourhood:

Father: It's village-like in several ways. For instance when you're in Netto, you always say hi and talk to 3-4 people there. You know a lot. Here and in the cooperative there's many social activities, and there's another big cooperative on the other side of the canal by Netto. There you know people from the gym. The children go to the same school and kindergarten. Play soccer on the same team. Another thing is that it's pretty dead here after seven o'clock. And on Sundays it's completely dead. It's just like a small village – Both mentally because everybody knows everybody and because it's so quite.

Mother: We have a large common house in the cooperative that is very used. We have a dinner club for instance, together with a lot of the other children families where we eat together. Then there's a sailor's guild that also have some activities and they do Christmas and Easter. You know a lot of the neighbours. A lot of them you also see privately.
Father: In the other large cooperative out there, they have another common house, and they to have a lot of activities. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

A father explains how they have a good relationship with their neighbours:

We are a bit complacent here. That's something we talk a lot about. We know a lot of the people [...] Yes, there aren't many places in Copenhagen with that much criss cross. We are going to a party on Saturday with some of the neighbours. It very normal, you see each other. We are going on ski holiday with some of the neighbours next month. It's a very nice environment, altså for adults. There is a good cohesiveness. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

Having a good and close relationship to the neighbours is not confined to the suburban areas. A mother explains how they have a good community in their co-housing building:

It's small [the co-housing cooperative] and people are nice and considerate of each other. I'm in the board so I know most of them. And they're not that many and the children know each other and there are lots of children and really nice people. And it's cheap we live incredibly cheap! (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

Because of this close and often longstanding relationship, the neighbours almost become substitute for relatives. Another important factor in this is obviously the very close proximity of neighbours, as opposed to many relatives and other friends, who often live further away. This enables both children and adults to socialise in a much less formal setting, not always having to plan meetings in advance. It is possible to bump into each other, and this much looser setting for the social relationships, makes it much easier to fit into the daily schedule. Furthermore, when seeing people in the neighbourhood, the burden of transport, travel time and traffic safety issues is less influential. A father explains how he likes the informal talks with neighbours:

Father: I usually walk down shopping. It's approx. 700 meters. It takes a little longer, but I like it, it's cosy. I walk a new route if possible, but there is a limit to how many new routes I can take.

Daughter: And then you know a lot people in the neighbourhood and you can chat, dad...

Father: Yes that's right. (Wind 2012: Family D)

A father explain how their neighbours are a kind of substitution for family:

[...] it's properly also because we like it here in the houseowner's association. I don't have any parents, I only have my grandparents left. But Lone's mother still lives down in Hasløv and Lone has siblings. I have an only child and my mother was an only child, in that way we aren't a large family on my side. But they live nearby, my grandpa is in a retirement home and my grandma still lives at home in Sjælland

and Sydhavnen. But mother in law lives in Hasløv which means we only see her once in a while and Lone's siblings we only see them when we are down there or during Christmas. They live in Holbæk, Næstved and Køge. In that way, it's the people in the homeowner's association we see a lot! (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

As opposed to the suburban neighbourhood, the households situated in apartments seem less involved with the people in their neighbourhood. Especially two households describe another type of neighbour relationship, where the people in the building politely recognise and greet each other, but seldom socialise beyond that. A mother explains:

We talk to each other when we bump into each other, but it's not like we visit each other. In the apartment across the hall, when our kids were young, there lived a boy, or some of the children downstairs, they came to our place. They didn't have the same age, which meant they didn't really fit into the group. We don't really see other people here. We know each other, and I know most of their names, and that's fine. And we say hi when we meet each other in the street and talk of the weather and stuff, but nothing else. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

A father explains how they have a distanced relationship to their neighbours, but never unfriendly:

Actually we haven't heard anything for a while, we haven't read anything in the papers the last couple of years. There were a period when there were some, like so many other places in the country, gangs playing havoc. But they have been close down more or less again. There were periods with burned cars here and over there. When people speak of foreigners, and they often do at work, how bad they are and stuff like that. I don't understand, I don't have any problem with them, I greet the people I meet in the stair. And we have always done so, with the result that when I'm at the greengrocer at Amagerbrogade, someone says they know you [the mother] but you don't know him. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Nevertheless, like in the suburban counterparts, some of the apartments-based households explain that they do in fact have some relationship with selected neighbours via their children. Some of these households and their neighbours help each other out by bringing and collecting the children from the institutions. Thus the nature of these relationships is mainly practical. A father and mother explains:

Mother: Sometimes we can use the neighbours. I didn't say that before. They sometimes take Frida home and very occasionally, Anders, but that's not

very often. He is too young.

Father: And it's mutual. We take the neighbour's boy home. They attend the same afterschool institution and play together. It's ongoing exactly because there are many classmates and schoolmates and kindergartenmates in the vicinity making it very natural to pick up and bringing each other's children. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Another mother explains how they sometimes get neighbours to help out with the kids, but this is mainly because they don't have anyone else:

We have the courtyard [neighbours]. Once in a while we can cover for each other when we have kids the same age. [...] It's our neighbours, but it's like 'can you pick up our son after school today? I'll be there in 10 minutes'. We sometimes use the courtyard for that. Otherwise we don't have anyone. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

5.6 Skills and competencies

Acquiring the skills and competencies used in the performance of daily mobility is an essential part of growing up and learning to master the conditions of everyday life. Skills and competencies are therefore enabling and liberating when mastered, but conversely, also disabling and restricting when lacking. The basic bodily skills of moving, crawling, walking, running, biking used in daily life, are among the skills the children learn to master during their first couple of years. However, in the sample, before the children are allowed to perform their own mobility autonomously outside the household, additional advanced skills, such as traffic awareness, way finding and transport system knowledge are also required. The children in the sample are therefore around the age of 10-11 before their independent mobility debut. A father explains how their children are capable of getting around themselves:

Father: Yes Sofie when you attended saxophone lessons at the main train station you went in there by bus by yourselves. They can do that now.

[...]

Son: I can walk to guitar lessons by myself.

Father: Yes you can do it yourselves. We don't even need to be here. Just send the money. (Wind 2012: Family D)

As mentioned in some of the earlier sections, the children's independent movement space expands from the confinement of the home to the neighbourhood and what is reachable on foot and bike (but is often restricted by larger roads with heavy traffic). In this life phase, having learnt to master the basic physiological modes of transport, the prime concern (mostly of the parents) is aspects such as traffic safety and to some degree way finding. A concerned mother talk of safety in traffic:

Interviewer: You don't really want to let your child into that [the traffic]?

Mother: They have to really... Frida can be very sensible, but sometimes she can freeze a bit in the traffic. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Later, the independent movement space expands further to the rest of the city, and in doing so, the children need to further improve both the traffic safety handling and way finding skills, as well as acquiring system knowledge of transport systems of bus, metro and train. A mother and daughter explain how way finding skill and transport system knowledge is accumulated through experience:

Interviewer: How do you get to know all these bussystems?

Mother: When you don't have, you are compelled to learn.

Daughter: Yeah, I think it was... I was on many trips with the school and I think you learn it there. But I also think I'm good at remembering places I have been, for example taking a bus to there and then another to there and like that. I quickly know my way around when I get there. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

The same goes for the rest of the household members. Both physiological skills and system skills are required to deal with daily mobility in the urban context. If either of these are impaired, it can have implications for the individual's independent mobility. In two of the households, a medical and physical condition compromises the member's capabilities and thereby restricts their potential for independent mobility. A mother explains how she is restricted from using most modes of transport:

It's because I have everything around me and if I have to move from here, then it'll be because of my health won't allow me to take the stairs or something. But then I'll still keep the things around me. I don't want to live in the countryside where do a freaking thing or get anywhere or can't do anything. I'm not allowed to drive, I'm not allowed to bike, I'm not allow to do a freaking thing... (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Similarly, a mother explains how she is incapacitated by her lacking mobility skills and physical condition:

It's also because I can't drive. In that way, I always had to transport myself back and forth without having to depend on anyone. When I was able to bike, then I biked to where I had to go. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

These medical conditions can have implications beyond the individual and affect the entire household. The impaired individual has become, in many situations, dependent on others (typically other household members) and is restricted to certain modes of transport. Most of the households in the empirical material deal with mobility situations and daily activities, with a high level of dependence between household members, by using a car. Obviously, this requires a driver's license, and not having one, has a disabling and restricting effect. However, even though both parents hold a driver's license this does not necessarily entail they use the car equally. In the empirical material, the reason for an unequal distribution of car use in the household is often ascribed to as habits, safety and overall preferences. A father explains how he is the only one

using the car:

Father: I'm the only one driving the car. In return I drive the whole year.

Mother: And the wife once in a while. It's not because I don't have a driver's license. (Wind 2012: Family A)

A mother explains how she dislikes driving due to safety reasons:

For instance, I don't like to drive very much. Because I'm scared of hitting someone. But it's not like I won't drive. I drive to swimming lessons. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Finally, a mother explains how she fundamentally prefers bike to the car:

In mine experience with the car, it would probably turn out to be that you would use the car because it's easy.. Right? But clearly, it takes a long time finding a parking spot, I don't think its super nice driving a car. I would probably mostly continue biking, but I think you would use it more often if you have one. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

Thus, in the empirical material it seems, it is not only a question of having a driver's license, but also a series of other factors. Furthermore, when not using a specific mode, such as the car, in daily life, there are a few indications in the empirical material, that the likelihood of choosing the particular mode decreases over time. Some mobility skills and competencies need maintenance and when not used regularly they tend to decay. However, there might be other factors adding to this, for instance other household members might utilise available resources such as the car and thereby decrease the overall possibility of using the car. Mobility skills and competencies acquired at some point in a person's life might also degrade in relation to the physiological condition and natural aging. For instance, biking might seem difficult to return to after many years of inactivity.

Advanced system knowledge

The different skills and competencies associated with mobility are not binary values. Rather, they can be mastered at many levels. As mentioned above, being capable of handling oneself safely in the traffic in the neighbourhood does not necessarily entail safety when travelling outside it. Likewise, getting a driver's license does not necessarily mean confident and safe driving. These mobility skills need to be honed and improved mostly by practice. Over time, the household members increase their knowledge of the different transport systems they use. They actively employ this tacit system knowledge to optimise their daily life and mobility. In the empirical material,

this becomes especially evident in the way the households, who commute by car, display systems knowledge and use various tactics. A couple explains how they use this tacit experience to optimise their daily transport:

Mother: [...] I always drive in this way when it's early in the morning. I drive a quarter past seven, then there isn't much traffic.

Father: If she drives 15 minutes later, she takes another route...

Mother: Then I take another route. But in the mornings, there isn't very much traffic so I'm able to go this way. When I drive home I can drive two different routes. If I go at four o'clock then there's usually heavy traffic and I'll continue all the way down here by the lake [pointing on a map]. (Wind 2012: Family D)

Similarly, another father explains how he applies system knowledge on the move:

If I know there might be some traffic problems when I drive to the care day I listen to the radio. Instead of driving up Roskildevej and to Ballerup, then I can go the opposite direction, you could say, towards Roskilde and to Ballerupgrenden and they way... Or if I'm on the highway and I can see it's blocked, then I sometimes go another way. I always drive the same way on the way home because there's rarely much traffic. It's the same route, but the traffic jams are more likely in the mornings because of accidents. The route home is usually the same because it's the fastest. I usually try to get home as fast as possible. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

The household members who travel by other means than car also develop system knowledge. In the empirical material, the sense of timing, rhythms and travel durations are specifically articulated as important aspects. Users of public transport have less influence on time of departure and arrival and need to comply with time schedules. Thus, the household members who use public transport modes learn the schedules and rhythms of their transport system. A father explains how he is attuned to his bike and the flow of the city:

[...] I just take the bike. Also when I'm going from work to the station [train]. I know it takes exactly 10 minutes. I just need to be there a couple of minutes to get the train and get seated. I know a can wait until there is 15 minutes left and then I can run out of work and then I can bring the last documents with me. Then I don't need to take the S-train from Nørreport, worry about how long time it takes or if it's stuck... That's freedom. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

A mother explains she doesn't know the bus time schedule completely by heart, but nevertheless, has experience with the bus system which she can put to use:

No I don't [know the bus schedule by heart]. But mostly I know when we use to... line 69 is pretty much the same all day. But I can't remember the other line. I don't remember that well anymore. [...] I think you learn where to get off and change bus to make it fit together, so you don't have to wait a 100 years, wait for some stupid bus. Then you get a little bit tired. But I generally think we are good at it. If nothing else we always bring with us a time schedule for the bus. Then you can see if it fits in with the bus, then it's possible to plan ahead. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

A mother and daughter review their bus route options:

Mother: We have the metro right over here, and we have line 33 and 2A and 12 over there and then 5 and 250 and a lot more at Amagerbrogade. It's super fast. Also you can take line 33 to Islands Brygge, and then you have 40 and 350 and 250 or something like that... It's a hub...

Daughter: Yes, it's a transport hub for the busses.

Mother: The 33 goes every 10 minutes! (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Knowing the bus system, the routes and stopping places is one thing, another is the practical experience that can only be gained through use. A mother and father discuss their experiences with their bus route:

Mother: Time, but also the frequency of departures [matters in a good transport mode]. The metro is about time, because you never wait. The bus is always a hell because it always, when you need it, skips you. Sometimes I have waited 20 minutes, and I don't know why. [...] I have experienced just standing there with both the kids and don't have the strength to go home. And then the bus with all the stuff and things. Then I have sometimes taken a taxi.

Father: It's an unstable line. It goes almost all the way through Nørrebrogade, there can be massive delays depending how the traffic is, especially in the late afternoon traffic. Sometimes they can't get a driver, and once in a while the departures are cancelled. I have hunch it's because it waits for line 66. But you have the feeling, pretty often, there are missing departures. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Another kind of system knowledge is the skill of way finding. Like other mobility skills this can be

honed and developed through practice, but some individuals has more aptitude than others. Way finding is tied to the system of transport. Children learn to master the general sense of direction and location of specific and important local nodes and landmarks (the school, a tree, the grocery, friends, a sign, etc.) within the neighbourhood on foot or on cycle. However, when venturing into the city in other transport systems (car, bus, metro, train) another layer of complexity is added to the way finding. This is evident in the empirical material, where the household members exhibit a developed sense of way finding. A father and mother discuss how way finding is sometime acquired over time:

Father: No I don't [take the same route]. I have different options. I change it a bit for the sake of variety I think. Maybe it's intuition, where the traffic is more advantageous.

Mother: Like another taxi driver...

Father: Yeah. You learn to know your city...

Interviewer: Is it to get there as fast as possible?

Father: Yes... but also for the sake of variety.... (Wind 2012: Family A)

However, way finding can also be a challenge that can affect modal choices. A mother explains how she is more comfortable with trying new routes when using the bike:

[...] Sometimes I bike to the bus instead of to the train. Sometimes I change the route when I bike. For me it's also about the experience. I also change some of the other trips [beside work commute], but never them I drive the car. Then it's always the same route probably because I easily get lost. [...] If it goes all wrong then I just choose the bike as I can easily get on a[nother] path... (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Also transport systems, such as bus or train, where some level of system knowledge is required to navigate, can be challenging. A mother explains, when visiting a place she is not familiar with, how she uses maps or GPS beforehand:

I pretty bad at using the bus and train. I don't know anything about it. But if I'm on the bike, well I get lost easily, but if I'm on the bike, then I usually check a map beforehand. If I'm in the car, then I have a GPS. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

For some, way finding in daily life is not used very often. Trying out new routes is usually not part of getting to and from. A daughter explains how she uses the same routes:

Daughter: Well, it is possible to go that way, but I feel it's a detour and it goes in and out of different places. Actually I don't think I have every taken it. It's just because I know the area and the shortcuts. I have always thought it was the easiest and the fastest... (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Quite obviously, most of the household members are mainly experienced in the transport systems they use on a daily basis getting to and from their daily activities. When travelling outside their familiar movement space they employ different strategies for way finding. Mostly they consult other household members, especially children approach their parents. However, another quite widespread strategy amongst the households in the sample is the use of the internet and Rejseplanen. A daughter and father discusses how Rejseplanen is great tool for way finding:

Daughter: Actually I think it's difficult sometimes. It's not often I'm in downtown Copenhagen. I don't know the bus system that well. Usually I have to check up...

Father: On the Rejseplanen...

Daughter: Yes... if it's the S-train or the metro I have it under control. If I have to go to a station where I haven't been before, then I have to check what line I have to take. But I'm used to finding the direction and using the system by now. I don't feel it's difficult to find a new place... (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Similarly, another daughter review when Rejseplanen is used:

I use the Rejseplanen a lot. If i'm going somewhere I've never been and I have to take the bus then I use the Rejseplanen. [...] Gradually I've learned the stops of on different bus lines - sometimes it's just the time schedules I check. H02 (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

As in the case of the daughter above, Rejseplanen is often used to confirm departures, etc. just to make sure. Especially the bus system is often harder to master, as it is more complex with more stops, interweaving of routes, unstable departure and arrival times. A father and daughter review the bus system and how Rejseplanen not only beforehand, but also on the smart phone on the move:

Daughter: I've never understood the bus system.

Father: Yes especially if you have to fit two bus lines together, that's really difficult. Then you need two time schedules... For instance, Roskildevej, but Roskildevej is soo long. Where are the bus stops on Roskildevej in relation to each other... It can

be real difficult. Even for us who have grown up in Copenhagen. But Rejseplanen is very good, you can also get it on an app for the phone now and then you can always see where the stop is. The time is now... and if you have to catch a train, then it can tell you which station to go to... (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

All of the household have access to the internet and Rejseplanen. Some access it on the move on their smart phone, while others use it before leaving home during planning. This does not only show the location and route to get from A to B, but also contains information of the transport system's time schedules, changes in schedule and breakdowns. This all-in-one tool is mainly used in relation with public transport systems. GPS navigation is also owned by most the household members who use car, either by smartphone or standalone system, but is rarely used within the Copenhagen area. It is primarily used for longer travels and holidays. A father review their GPS use:

Father: [...]But if I have to go to a new client I don't know the way, then I have a GPS in the car. Or if you have to go to a place outside the city where you haven't been before.

Mother: A common house...

Father: Then we use the GPS. It's really rare. Even on trips to Jylland we don't need it, we know the route. I think it bothers me more then it's helping. You have to sit and watch it... (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

None of the households use their GPS system very often, as they normally are able to find their way without. Some, as the father above, even indicate that using the GPS is troublesome and annoying as it is a distraction when driving. It seems, the GPS is as an assistive device merely functioning as a safety net, that is nice to have if needed, but is seldom used. The empirical material shows the household members as highly skilled experts in their daily transport systems. Besides knowing the formal transport systems, its time schedules, stopping places, ticket machines, signage, road regulations, etc., they also know the informal rhythms, malfunctions, shortcuts, delays, breakdowns, etc. Moreover, they also find different ways and strategies of coping by using GPS, smartphones and re-routings. Most of the household members know the particular transport system they use in daily life, whether it is the bus, train, bike or car. However, in the material, it is also clear mobility skills and competencies can decay when not used, this practical sense for efficiently using a transport system needs to be maintained through almost daily use. When the household members use transport systems outside their daily transport patterns they quickly

have to seek assistance in for example Rejseplanen or make use of other households members experience. Another important aspect of the mobility skills and competencies is they have a tendency of committing and obligating the household member when learned. Daily life, for many of the households, depends on the member's ability to handle as much of their own mobility as possibility. Therefore, when the children start commuting to and from school themselves, they seldom go back to being driving by their parents.

5.7 Time

The notion of time appears strongly in the empirical material. There are many accounts indicating it influences the daily life and organisation of the household in a number of ways. First of all, time is one of the most valuable resources in the household's daily life. Obviously, this is related to the fact that, the time resource has a finite size (24 hours per day), and although the use of time can be optimised through the organisation of activities and mobility, the amount remains the same. This impacts the households at several levels. At a situational level, depending on the situation, the same stretch of time can be felt and experienced completely different by different persons. For some, the daily commute can feel like a drag, a waste of time that needs to be minimised, while for others, it serves as a welcomed space of relaxation. On a broader level, the use and valuation of time reflects how the households organise and prioritise in daily life. Not surprisingly, the age of children in the households seem to influence how time is valued. Especially households with younger children seem to have a high valuation of 'family time'. This is also due to the amount of conditions, dependencies and time schedules that comes along with being a family with young children. Most of the parents in the sample spend, in average, 30-40 minutes per day commuting. However, there is a great variance in how much time the respondents are willing to spend on commuting when asked. It spans from 20 to 90 minutes per day. This section seeks to unfold how the households in the sample are using and valuing time in their daily life.

Time as a limited resource

Together with the monetary resources, the time resource is one of the strongest driving forces in the household's lives. When basic needs are covered to a certain and satisfying degree, the households in the empirical material, tends to prioritise time above money. The balance between time and money differs amongst the households in the sample, but most of the families in the sample favours time. A father explain how he sees the time vs. money balance:

Yes it's the time as a family with young children. And then you wonder if it's because we're a family with young children, if we weren't a family with young children would the time also be crucial...? Yes it would! But it would hardly be as crucial as it is today, today time is maybe about 75% and money 25% or 90/10. Before, when we didn't have children, it was maybe about 70/30, but now coming home or going to a leisure activity or something else. As a family with young children time is extremely important, there is no doubt about that. But if we got something else, an alternative, that would enable us to be there as fast, it's obvious that we would start talking about it. (Wind

2012: FAMILY H)

One of the factors in this prioritisation is the presence of children. Households with children often feel a heightened time pressure on their daily life. Especially those with younger and still fully dependent children articulate, in the empirical material, a struggle to achieve as much 'quality family time' as possible. As the children grow older and become more independent the time pressure subsides. Still, there is a need to spend quality family time together among the household members, but this is mainly reduced to meals (primarily breakfast and dinner, for more on this see section 5.8 on household organisation and synchronisation). A mother, with young children, explains how she feels daily life can be a struggle for time:

Yes I find it a race against time to be able to have as much time together as possible. ... To be able to pick them up before they dinner, showering and to bed. Just to get a bit more substance in it. (Wind 2012: Family C)

Another mother, with older children, explains how she sees the meals as their daily 'quality time':

I like we take time to dine together. That is a gathering point for us. We do succeed, don't you think? (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

The households find different ways to maximise and optimise the family time through organisation of their lives. A common strategy, is for one of the parents to reduce work hours, something that most of the households is doing or have done at some point. The idea is to reduce or remove the larger occupants in the overall time budget. The reduction or removal of non-children leisure and social activities are therefore also a common strategy among the households. Furthermore, another aspect, the households seek to optimise, is the transport to and from core activities of daily life such as work, shopping, day-care, school etc. These strategies include using the fastest transport mode available, which is often car. Here, the location of the residence and accessibility also play a major role, and most of the households have taken into consideration the location of residence and work to reduce commuting time. A father explains how he sees the larger chunks of daily activities taking up time:

It's like work takes most of the time. That you take time off for the children and partly for the house, but then work takes most of the time. So, when there's some time left where you sit down and work. I'm not into working in the evening. That's a choice you have to make. (Wind 2012: Family D)

A mother explains how their location of work, home

and most daily activities are closely situated:

You see, its not so much, in that way we are lucky we work nearby [to home], it minimizes the time consumed for transport, which means we get time to do all kinds of other stuff. But I have noticed, when our son has to go to Amager, I'm not used to having to drive so far to do something. So it annoys me a bit, three quarters of an hour driving there and then three quarters back home. But that's because we're used to be close [to home]... (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

The households in the sample do not employ all of these strategies at once, but rather use the ones that are suitable in their particular situation. Nevertheless, most of the strategies come at an economic cost, the price of a car, the reduction of work hours and salary, which means not all of the households have equal access to these strategies.

Commuting Time

As mentioned above, one of the key aspects the households seek to optimise, is the time spend in transit to and from work. The travel time differs widely from household to household depending on the particular situation. Yet, most of the parents in the sample spend in average 30-40 minutes per day commuting.

If possible, most of the households would like to have their work next door, but this is rarely a possible option. Some household members have a limited number of potential workplaces due to job preferences, education and specialisation located at a few places in the city. They have to accept a longer commute time to get to them. Others, who are not bound to specific workplaces, can easier find a job nearby. However, the travel time is not the only factor, and most will accept longer commute if the job description is the right one and they are happy at work. A mother explains how commute time and work location is important, but not the only thing:

But that's entirely new, I can say yes to that. Because I'm very pleased at my work, and I don't sit every morning in the train and think 'no, how tiresome I have to sit here'. That's just the way it is; Imagine in an ideal world, where I could ride my bike just around the corner to my work. Then I could pick up the children and they could almost sleep one extra hour a day. When I say 'yes', then it's a very simple thing. Well, it would be lovely with a shorter distance, but it's not an irritant that follows me. It's nothing I ever think of, that I work far away. It's merely just the way it is. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Some of the households experience the work place relocating to new places, thereby completely changing the travel time scenario for the household. This can either create new opportunities or put up barriers in the daily life of the households. A father

reviews what the commute to his relocated work will be like:

Presently, the office actually is in Hellerup, but within couple of weeks we are about to move to Fredriksberg near Flintholm Station, so it will be closer to [home]. Now it's possible the bike will be used even more. It's a bit further to Hellerup, even if there are good connections. The station is nearby and you can drive to Hellerup Station. It takes 10 minutes with the train and then there's a ten minutes walk. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

A mother explains how her job relocation was quite a radical change in their life:

My name is Anne-Mette and I'm 46 years old. I work at the municipality of Copenhagen. I only work three days a week, in total twelve hours because I have flexible job. But my workplace has moved from Amagerbrogade to Hans Knudsendsplads. So it's pretty far away compared to earlier. It is located all the way out at Lyngbyvej, previously, I was able to go there in ten minutes. It's a radical change. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

The parents in the sample commute in average 49 minutes each workday from home to work. The longest commute is 1½ hour per day and the shortest is only 10 minutes per day. Below is an overview of the commute for each of the parents in the 11 sample households. In 2012 every Dane travelled 57.1 minutes per day (TU Data 2012). However, this number includes all transport associated with work, leisure activities, friends and family, shopping etc.

Household	Mother	Father	Total
Family A	unemployed	60	60
Family B	40	60	100
Family C	50	90	140
Family D	60	60	120
Family E	30	30	60
Family F	10	60	70
Family G	80	40	120
Family H	30	60	90
Family I	sick leave	80	80
Family J	80	30	110
Family K	20	20	40

Table 12: Parent's commuting time - minutes for an average workday (n=20)

The youngest children in the sample attend nurseries, day-care and kindergarten close to the residence of the households. Their daily commute typically included into the parents or older children. Likewise, the children who attend school in the sample, use the closest school within the district of the residence.

Only among the older children, who attend high school or other types of schools and educations, are some who choose schools located further away from home. At this point, the children are completely capable of handling their own mobility, and this makes it possible to attend to schools located further away, without it becoming too heavy a burden for the entire household. This, however, does create long commuting distances for the implicated children. A daughter review her commute to a production school located far from home:

But I also went to the production school, where I also took the 33 into Tivoli and than 1A all the way out to the hospital and than further out, the whole way to Avedøre and out there. There I also took. It was a long ride, it took me almost one hour to get home because it took so long time. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Another daughter explains how different modes affect the commute time:

If I leave here at halv past I'm at the stop at my school precisely at eight o'clock. And if I bike it only takes 15 minutes. There is quite a big difference, but it's because you have to go all the way up to Vesterbrogade and there's lots of traffic. And Nørreport during the morning... (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

In general, it seems the household members try to handle and organise their daily commutes the best possible way with the resources and possibilities available to them. When found the right balance between work, social life, leisure and sports activities and transport where it is possible for the household to accomplish a satisfactory family life, the households have an ability to cope with their particular situation no matter if they are forced into long commutes due to work place relocation and job scarcity or freely chooses an attractive job location further away. A mother explains:

But you can also say, when I drive to work, it only takes about 30 or 40 minutes at tops. Then I'm going all the way from here, through Copenhagen and to the other side. But as long as you have found a routine that works, then it's okay. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

A father review their commute situation:

From the valuation, I think you can – that's what we talked about. Previously, it was more about the price in relation to 'if it could be minimize'. In a way, we have accepted we don't want to minimize it to zero at any cost. We have reached a point, where we have accepted 10 to 15 minutes as the margine. Meaning, it dosent, in a way, change much when we do anyhow have to transport ourselves. If

it reaches a certain threshold, then we would change it, to get the shorter commute time. At the moment, I think we have a perfect balance. We can handle it. Seen from a realistic point of view, in relation to where our work is located, then it's okay. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

As the father in the last quote explains, there are both an upper and a lower boundary to the commuting durations. Even though the households often seek to minimise their time in commute, this is associated with diminishing returns, and at some point it falls below a threshold when decrease in travel time seems to matter less for the household. However, if the commuting time exceeds the upper boundary, it can severely compromise the household's daily life organisation. If this is about to happen, most households will take radical steps to prevent it, such as finding a new job or moving residence, etc.

Maximum Commuting Time

As seen above, if the conditions are right some of the households are willing to undertake quite long commutes. However, following the notion of an upper commuting time boundary, there is a limit to how much the household members are willing to spend on commuting. For many of the household members, this maximum is defined by a tipping point, when the daily commuting time reaches a level where it can jeopardise the family life in the household. A father and mother review the father's elier work situation:

Father: It took almost 40 minutes.

Mother: Yes and that's what we said was the maximum. He came directly from the shop, and said he didn't bother working in the shop anymore - those working hours completely destroy a family life. And it wouldn't become better as time goes by.

Father: Well, I have a maximum limit and it's very clear, not over half an hour. I don't care. You can say its not working hours, because you don't get paid for it. But if I was to calculate my real hourly wages then I would include both breaks, lunch and travel time as I'm away from home. So for me, it's really important its nice work place I like and good colleagues. We often talk about wages, as one of the most important tings, for me it's not that important, you can't of course live without money, but it's not as important as the other things. And I know it goes for Anne-Mette as well. Wages must not become the most important aspect of our life... (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Many of the households in the sample are willing to accept a maximum commute of 30-40 minutes each way. A father and mother discuss their maximum:

Father: Well, I find three quarter of an hour too long. Half an hour is fine.

Mother: I do agree. It takes me, from door to door, about 20 to 30 minutes to Høje Tåstrup and I can live with that. But it used to take me five minutes to bike so I guess it matters what you are used to. But I think I would find it quite tough if I had three quarters of an hour each way. (Wind 2012: Family C)

There is a fine balance between acceptable and unacceptable. Sometimes, the commute can also be reduced by other modes of transport. Another father and mother explain how the car could shave a substantial amount of the commute away:

Mother: But it's also the time limit, I find spending 40 minutes in transit each way a lot. It's almost too much but it can be done.

Father: It takes 40, but it would be 25 if you took the car. That's a quarter of an hour. If you reach half an hour ekstra than public transport then it would not work. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

When asked, none of the households state they are above their maximum traveling time. They are either below or on par. Because of each of the households in the sample are in a unique situation and have a specific organisation, it is difficult to establish a general and universal maximum commute time between them. Although some of the households state they are willing to commute further, if the right situation arose, none of them, however, are willing to commute above 1½ hour per day. A father explains how 45 minutes each way is simply too much:

I would say three quarter of an hour. Than it's a long time. It depends on the traffic. You can have three quarters of an hour where you drive 80km/h and the traffic is flowing. But if you are three quarter of an hour in a traffic jam, that would stress me out. I'd like to be a bit closer, like 15-20 minutes, because if you calculate how much time you spend on it during your lifetime, I know you are not supposed to do that, because then you realise how much time you spend in a car. It's like five hours a week for 40 weeks a year, so it starts adding up. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

However, some of the households points out the maximum travel time might be relative to the frame of reference of the particular household. A hypothesis might be people more accustomed to longer travel distances in daily life, have a higher threshold for the maximum commute time. A father explains:

But it also have something to do with what you are used to. There are some, that drive from Haslev

into town to work and spends one hour. Mon did that when she lived in Haslev. So there are some who do that. [...] I think it's because we are so used to it, we sit here and say 25-30 minutes is a long time in transit, but if you are used to three quarters of an hour then you're just used to that. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Likewise, another father explains how he believes the location of residence and contextual conditions affects the maximum travel time:

If you made an interview in the south, for instance Falster, then you also find lots of people that spent one and a half hour each way. If you asked them, they wouldn't say spending three hours would be unacceptable, but they would definitely say that one and a half hour is what they find appropriate and able to accept. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

Due to the relatively small sample in this study, it is difficult to determine anything conclusive from the data set about this hypothesis. Nevertheless, it seems fair to assume there is a connection between the customary frame of reference, what people are used to, and their stated preference (this could be explored further in larger data sets and compared to other studies). The household members in sample are comprised of people from the inner parts of Copenhagen, people from the Copenhagen suburbs and people from the province and more rural parts of Denmark. Below is a figure comparing the commute

Parents origin	No. of people	Total minutes per day	Minutes per person
Province (Jutland, Fyn)	7	390	55,7
CPH Suburbs (Hvidovre, Brønshøj, Valby)	7	330	47,1
CPH City (CPH K, Ø, V, S)	6	270	45

Table 13: Commuting time in minutes divided into (n=20)

times between these groups of people.

A mother explain how she views travel time differently:

[...] My colleague says it's a pain for her to get to DTU, because she has such a long commute. For me it's more like: 'I have a nice work' and it's located out there, and that's just part of it. Earlier, I have driven from here to Vordingborg each day, so it's relative... Or you're raised in a place where everything is far away. Just getting to high school. [...] Yes, but compared to where I grew up in Vorbasse, there its no problem. I don't panic just

because I misses the bus. There's only another ten minutes until next one arrives. And sometimes, I have had to wait an entire night before the next bus. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

The upper boundary for the maximum commute duration are in some cases defined by the household's ability to maintain their daily life organisation. However, in other cases, it can also be defined by what the household members find reasonable to spend on commuting. To investigate this, it is important to understand how the household members value time.

Time Valuation

Not all moments and stretches of time, during the household member's daily lives, are equally important. In the empirical material, most of the households are very straightforward in the articulation of how they prioritise their time. Even though many of the parents enjoy their work life, as a general rule, most of them state time spend with the family, and especially the children, is the more important of the two. Therefore, finding a balance between the two is sometimes difficult. A father and mother review how they have prioritised:

Father: When I worked as a butcher, I had lots of ambitions and I worked long hours, back then I was a butcher in Ishøj and worked over 70 hours a week. And while I was at Georg Frost, I had so much overtime, but it comes at a cost and you when you find out, it's too late, exactly how expensive it's for the family. The money is good and everything, but it's too tough on the family.

Mother: It doesn't help if you earn a lot of money, if you don't have the opportunity to spend them together, really, what's the point then?

Father: Yes, that's what we prioritise, the family is most important. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Having a family with children entails certain obligations, but these obligations change dynamically with the age of the children. Thus in the empirical material, households with younger children are more burdened with fixed activities, chores and nurture of the children. The general strategy for these parents with younger children in the sample is to maximise the time together without compromising work life too much. As mentioned earlier, this is often done by reducing the hours at work or by optimising commute time in daily life. A father explains:

Mom used to bike to work – the same work as she has now. Then we had the opportunity to get a second car, which we did. Then m rode her bike half of the time and drove half of the time, but after we have had our little one she uses the car all the time just to pick up before closing time. (Wind 2012:

FAMILY H)

An interesting aspect of this, is that all time spend with the children is not always considered equally good. For some, it seems the highest-ranking time, with children, is when the purpose is simply to spend time with them by doing some activity (playing, going to the zoo, to a concert, etc.). This is considered 'quality time'. For others, the notion of quality time, also include time spend with the children doing obligatory activities (transport to and from activities, household chores, shopping, etc.). A mother explains how she seeks to avoid shopping with the children:

[...] I mostly prioritise to do the shopping without the children. Then you avoid stress, right. The important thing is to get the opportunity to be together. The children gets the time to do what they need to do and yourself get the opportunity do something else once in a while. But in reality, it's just important things work out without being too stressful. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

Similarly, a mother and father review their activities:

Mother: Yes but then there are the children's hobbies. It's quite limited what we do for our own pleasure. Wouldn't you say so?

Father: Yes, then it's something we do with the children. (Wind 2012: Family C)

Some of the households are explicit about this prioritisation. Besides, willingly spending time together, quality time is about the feeling of being 'present' and it becomes more than just fixed activities and chores. Therefore, for some of the households, satisfying the wish for quality time is not measured in the quantitative amounts of time, but rather as the quality of it. For many of the household, the dinner particularly serves as a prime example of quality time in daily life. A family discusses time:

Father: Time! Write that, that's what it's all about! The keyword.

Mother: Yes but also a bit of discipline! That we all feel like, we all want to sit around the table, that there's nothing else... You clear your head and then you are - present... Isn't that right? How's it for you?

Father: Yes it is.

Daughter: Also about dinner, we do always dine together, if there's someone that can't, then you phone and say okay I'm going to eat another place. Dinner is very obligatory.

Father: Look back; the time you remember is the time you had time. That's how it is. (Wind 2012: Family A)

Similarly, a mother and father explains their take on quality time:

Mother: Yes I find it a match against time, to be able to spend the most time with them.

[...]

Mother: To be able to pick them up before they have to dine, take bath and goto bed. So there's more substance in it.

[...]

*Father: I find it important, when we dine there is enough time. But that's also because we are good at give the meal time.
But a forced meal, that's really terrible. (Wind 2012: Family C)*

However, when the children get older, there are in some households a shift in the struggle for quality time. As the children's autonomous capabilities enhances, this can take some of the time pressure off the families. The needs of the children also changes, and with it, does the obligations and the priorities for the parents. Time is freed up and can be utilised for other activities. For some, this often hectic and very dependent phase of family life with younger children is a quality in itself. A father explains:

Also just to have something in common with them. In a couple of years they don't bother joining us. So it's not a long period. We try to say to people that want to send them away: 'dear lord, its only a couple of years then its over'... I do, at least, prioritise spending time with my children, and in then finishing of the house or repairing the motorcycle has to wait. (Wind 2012: Family D)

However, for many parents, the radical shift when the children become more independent is a welcomed breathing room in the busy daily life. A mother explains:

It's not until now we have energy to negotiate. If I have activities a couple of times during a week Casper has to do his activities some other days. Otherwise, we do a lot of things in and around the house. For instance, we both like to run. It doesn't have to be planned for. It can be when we have half an hour. It's not an issue. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Another mother reviews her current and past situation:

Most definitely! If you have young children and a full time job, and you have to shop and run errands. Then it's quite different. I can shop during the day. The things I otherwise had to do when I had picked up the children; I had to go shopping and then

home. We don't have to do that anymore. Actually we're quite privileged, if you think about it. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

These different accounts reflect how deeply the various households in the sample are engaged in their particular life situation. The household's prioritisation of time is an expression for their particular life phase. Households with young children are very engaged with spending time with them, nurturing and caring for the children. As the children grow older, and become more independent, the households can spend more time on other parts of their lives such as work, friends, leisure and sports activities alongside spending time with the family. Therefore, 'quality time' can best be understood as a subjective concept reflecting the household's valuation of time, but it must also be seen in relation to the household's current life situation.

Busy everyday lives

The cost of maximising time with the children while they are young is often a general increase in time pressure for the entire family. The fixed activities, family and social obligation, as well as work life, puts pressure on the daily life and the available time. A majority of the households in the sample lead busy lives, to which they are aware of. They don't necessarily see this as a negative thing, for most of them it is something they have chosen themselves. A father explains:

There have been conducted some stress related studies where people are asked to write down how many hours they spend on sleeping and on leisure per day. People always plan significantly more hours than there are in a week. At least most people do. If you should be able to manage everything, there should, at least, be 32 hours in a day. [...] (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

This is an indication of the father thinks their busy life is not outside the norm. Similarly, another father and mother discusses their life:

Father: Yes, it would be lovely if the day were two hours longer. A couple of extra hours to relax.

Mother: Yes we are busy - but we are not TOO busy. We are busy, we are, we have many things, it would be a lie saying otherwise.

Father: I can show you third floor, then you would see how busy we are. I started building 18 months ago.

Mother: But that's something we like to be. It's not because we find it annoying to be busy, we like it. It's not a burden. Busy has become [a bad thing] but we like being busy. (Wind 2012: Family D)

For this household, the busyness is almost welcomed. Another couple reviews their daily life knowing they have a pressured daily life:

Mother: [...] It has to be like this so our daughter can attend gymnastics tree times a week, plus play dates, plus parent's meetings and if, once in a while, you wanna go out with a friend. But I still think we have a pretty ordinary day. We have a dinner club every week, and that's not a flexible activity.

Father: Yes quite booked weekdays! That's what I think we can call it. (Wind 2012: Family C)

For most of the households, the level of busyness in their daily life fluctuates according to rhythms of the activities of work, school, family, outside school activities, etc. When work life invades family life, with extraordinary activities or meetings, the household might experience pressure that pushes the household integrity to (and over) the limit. Some households specifically use 'time saving' or 'quality time' strategies (as well as other strategies, such as drawing on family or friends take care of the kids) to counteract such situations. A mother explains:

I don't think we have particular many activities compared to others. Our children aren't participating in much. Our son practice soccer and judo, but our daughter isn't participating in anything. Well... She swims with the other kids from the after-school centre. We have tried this and that, but when we are taking about time, it really means something you don't need to drive. I think its really exhausting if they participate in too much. On a normal weekday night you only have 2-3 hours to do all the practical things, if they then have to be driven to and from on top of that. Plus they want to paly with friends, plus they have gotten animals that have to been taken care off. There are many things that have to be taken care of within 2-3 hours. We don't either go to any sports, except fitness or running. Such things you can do when it fits in. We don't go to any activities that are at certain hours. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

A family explain how they make use of a particular strategy to cope with a busy life:

Mother: I think, we have always been good at relaxing during the weekends when we have time off. We haven't always had time off in the weekends with the jobs we have had, and we there has been periods where, we had very little time together during the weekends. But just be able to wear pyjamas the whole day, as today, we have been quite good at doing that when there's time. Then it's ... what should I say

Son: Movie time!

Father: Unplug...

Mother: No plans...

[...]

Mother: And I think that's something, a breathing space, we have created. (Wind 2012: Family B)

Likewise, another family uses a similar strategy:

Mother: We have agreed not make any arrangements on Fridays! It's the end of the week, we are all a bit tired, and we just want to hang out here, in peace and quite. Eat candy and do nothing. Play games...

[...]

Father: Yes that's it! It's because we could see the children where tired after a long week. It's impossible to go shopping with them Friday afternoons, the other days it's all right, but not Friday. We are spent Fridays. When they were younger they wanted to watch Disney Show, and we turned it into a cosy family day. And then when you get older, you think back to the cosy family days [...]. (Wind 2012: Family A)

As the households are generally most pressured during the time when the children are young and dependent, it is also here, in the empirical material, the use of strategies are mainly applied. However, as seen in the last quote above, sometimes these strategies linger in the household as a remnant from earlier. Sometimes these strategies or practices do not disappear at all and becomes part of the household's way of life and traditions. Examples of this could be spending holiday together or eating Sunday meals with grand parents.

Meaningful transport time

For most of the households, transportation and commuting is part of daily life and something the household members have to put up with. Although most of the parents in the sample would like to minimise transport time and preferably remove the daily commutes, they do find purpose and activities utilising the travel time.

Lack of control or the feeling of inability to affect the course of the travel or travel time has some interesting affects. For some, it results in the feeling of travel time as waste of time. For others, it is exactly the lack of control, the fact you are unable to influence the system or that travel time is simply a necessary aspect of connecting to an obligatory activity (such as work). This creates a 'free' time space to be utilised for other activities while in transport. A mother explains how transport time can sometimes be too much:

[...] I don't think I spend too much time in transit. I don't think so. Sometimes I can think 'Ah! Now I have to stand here, it's a waste of time' but normally, than I don't think it's too bad. I think we have quite good options for going back and forth. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

However, when transport is a necessary evil of daily life it tends to transform. A mother explains how she transforms transport time:

Interviewer: But in relation to your commuting route. Do you ever think it is pleasant to be in transit?

Mother: No, I can't answer that. But I can rephrase your question: -When you are in transit can you get anything good out of it? Yes! [...] I listen to audio books or music. I always carry my ipod with me, with book I'm listening to. Or a podcast radio program or something else. One trick is never to think: 'ahh I feel so bad for myself, I have such a long way to work' I try to define it as my time. I can listen to this book, and then it's no longer a waste of time. It's my time! (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

For this mother, commuting is never an ideal situation, but it can become a pause in the busy daily life. Some of the household members in the sample might even perceive travel time as a welcome and almost necessary break and breathing space in daily life. A father explains:

It's also the time, it's the age we are living in, things have to happen so quickly. That's I think, if you go 20 years back then it took maybe one hour with the train or the bus just going to school or whatever. It simply took one hour. Today, we have to be active all of the time and maybe it's not healthy. I think, maybe in 10-20-30 years, things have to happen very fast, that can be very stressful. I think, it can be real healthy to have some transport time or just some spare time. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

However, it seems in the empirical material, the commute has to surpass a certain amount of time before it is even stands out. The short commutes are often not considered. It is the longer commutes that are target for frustration or potential relaxation in daily life. Furthermore, some transport modes affords a wider range of activity options during transport. Especially bus and train, where the commuter is not concerned with traffic or steering, are better platforms for various activities.

Filling transport time

In the empirical material, the way the household members use their transport time can be roughly divided into two main categories. The first are those who mainly see daily transport times as an empty container waiting to be filled with a more meaningful activity simply to make time pass by. A daughter

explains how she listen to audio books:

Yes, and I also have a lot of audio books. Because I'm dyslexic I have a book as audio book. I both have an audio book and then I also have the book at the same time. That takes up some of the time, making it a bit faster if you ride alone. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Similarly, another daughter explains how she uses music:

I really like listening to music. It makes you in a good mood, but it's also just pastime, because the time feels longer if I don't listen to music, then I would just sit and stare into the air... Yes, it's like a type of entertainment... (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

The second category, are those who use the daily transport as a breathing space, a space of relaxation, a pause, where one can recharge on the way to work or on the way home. The household members have different ways of doing this. Some read the paper, make phonecalls, look at other people, listen to the radio or music. A father review his commute:

[...]But I must say that we've been discussing at work when someone says 'I wish I had only 5 minutes home'. When someone says that, I think, yes it's true, but then we have to pick up the children, which means that you're immediately 'on' again. It is perfectly true, not so much in the morning, but in the afternoon, it might be nice to get those 25 to 30 minutes of relaxation in the car. Where you just sit and relax a little because you're 'on' when you get back home. But I also regularly spend time, a few times a week, to talk to my grandparents. I call them when I sit in the car because in the evening, when you come to at 730 – 8 am, you're not supposed to be on the phone... I do it straight away in the car. But no hassle and when the traffic its running smoothly and there is no queue, you can just sit and relax and listen to P1, P4, or a CD and then ... yes actually I think it can be very nice! And it can also be great if we are driving down to my mother-in-law, it takes around three quarters of an hour, everyday just sits there and relaxes, having a good time, and talking a bit. Especially, if you have had such a Saturday where there have been 117 practical things to do, then you have then time to sit and talk in the car. Yes, for me it's both an advantage and a disadvantage to have shorter and longer journeys. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

A mother explains how doing nothing or simply observing others can be relaxing:

Not a thing.. I can easily do nothing. I sit and watch out the windshield or look at the people there. I don't do anything. I have my ipod with me and

sometimes listens to music. Or I do nothing. Just sit nice and quite. Sometimes I read the paper. If I take the trains I read the paper. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

Another mother explains how she listen to the radio and use the time to plan the day:

I mostly listen to the news on the radio on the way to work, or I listen to P1 or I might listen to P4 to know if there is roadwork or accidents on my route. Then I think about what I have to do during the day. Plan the day when I sit in the car. This is what's so great about a car - you can sit and collect your thoughts. That's what I do. (Wind 2012: Family D)

The car offers a more private enclosure than going by public transportation where the physical proximity to other people is closer. By listening to music, however, it is possible for the household members to distance themselves to fellow commuters. This might be one of the reasons why listening to music is the most preferred activity in transport among the household members. A daughter explains:

Listens to music. I use the music. Then I can't the people who are talking, it much easier listening to music. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

Not only can the commuting be an extension of the private sphere, but it can also be an extension of the work sphere. Some of the household members fills the time space with work. A father explains:

I listen to the radio channel 4, or it happens I take care of some phone calls, you have to do that anyways, so you might as well get in touch with them... (Wind 2012: Family D)

Due to the repetitive nature, the household members become very familiar with these daily commutes. Every aspect of them, the routes, timings, rhythms, becomes 'naturalised' and predictable and this enables the household members to relax during the commute, not having to be concerned when to get off, listening for service announcements, the codes and conventions of the particular mode, etc. Many of the activities that are formed during the commutes are also repeated day after day, making them part of the commuting ritual, the transition of going from home to work and vice versa. A mother and father review their transport rituals:

Mother: I read! When I take the train or bus I read.

[...]

Mother: I have three papers with me and I get through three papers!

Father: I have good time with P1 [radio channel]. I always listen to P1 in the car.

Interviewer: Could you say it's very habitual behaviour?

Mother: Three papers, always! (Wind 2012: Family A)

However, some of the household members point out they see a difference between the transport during commutes to and from daily activities as opposed to transportation to extraordinary activities. The daily transport is more likely to be considered waste of time, or at least something that should be minimized, while the extraordinary transport is usually more interesting and worth performing. A daughter explains:

I don't think it should be that much time when its school and it's every day [commute time]. Of course it depends where your educational institution is located. But when we are in the car and we are going to visit the family or something and it's a long drive, I don't have any problem with it and it is a special occasion. But when it is every day to school or work I just think it's too much.

I: Is it because it's a family activity and not just boring transportation?

[...]

Yes it's the extraordinary, that you're doing something special. There's a reason for it, it's something else. The everyday travel is too much. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

During the less frequent and extraordinary, travels and non-commutes the household members also use transport time as 'quality time' together with other household members. A mother explains how extraordinary transport is more than instrumental:

When you bike, you bike. When we bike far, I was at a course in Brønshøj, then I listen to music. Otherwise we just bike and talk I think. If we take the train, then the boys almost always bring a Nintendo or an Ipod or a book or something else. We read aloud a lot when we travel. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

Transport time is suddenly a peaceful moment for the family to connect with each other. Similarly, a father explains how they enjoy driving with the children:

Some of the time we sit and listen to music with the kids. It's fun because they can sing one of the songs from Magtens Korridorer [a Danish band] because we have heard it. We also talk about the music we listen to. Then the kids tries to learn the lyrics. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Transport time is also an opportunity for the family

to share experiences. A father explains:

Son: and we saw 75 storks.

Father: Yes, that's right, we saw a migration of storks, it's was incredible... Right over our heads. We drove very slowly. (Wind 2012: Family A)

Similarly, another father explains how extraordinary experiences are a way of bonding:

We've been to gymnastics, our daughter takes gymnastic lessons and our son has just started in another group and we finished a bit earlier. Then we drove down here and saw some windmills. There is this long road down there where you back and forth. That's right, with windmills... (Wind 2012: Family C)

As transport, not only the work/school commute, is a necessary aspect of all the households lives to connect to the daily activities, the households find different ways of coping with it. In the empirical material, there is a wide variety of different transport activities or practices ranging from purely instrumental, killing time, to quality time bonding with other family members. When realising this, it becomes clear that transport time and transport activities, do impact and affect the household's organisation, as well as the transport choices of mode, route and destination the household continuously are faced with.

5.8 Coordinating Family Life

The daily life of the households in the sample differentiate in many ways, but one of the strongest commonalities is how much their lives are situated into patterns, routines, and follows very strict rhythms. The many social, leisure, work, institution, shopping activities are performed on a regular and recurring basis. Some might have high frequency, such as work and grocery shopping, while others might be less frequent, such as leisure and sports activities, and lastly some have a very low frequency, such as visiting friends and family and even going on holiday. To handle this complexity, the household organizes their lives into fixed and relatively stable patterns and routines. The degree, in which the households have control over the frequency and complexity of activities, is widely differentiated and related to their available resources, skills and competencies. Some households have a high level of control. A father explains:

We are pretty well covered. We have two s-train stations within 500m and we have two metro stations within 500-700m. We have a bus line within 200 m and everything whether its work, shopping or anything else is in biking distance. That's a part of why we haven't had two cars or never felt like having two cars. That's an advantage of living where we live: Transportation is easy. So when I don't take the car to work, what most of my colleagues who live nearby do, it is because I am better can relaxed when having biked across Valby Bakke. Then I can sit and relaxe in the train. (Wind 2012: Family B)

Not all the households in the sample share the same high level of transport opportunities. However, it seems, the households have a capacity to adjust to their available resources. A mother explains:

We are living here and I think it is nice to have S-train and metro.. But that's also because we have those things when we live here. Then it's not only a question of having a car. We now believe the our life is better if we have access to the S-Trains... But, if we had started living out somewhere in the suburbs then S-Train would not have been a parameter for us. Then it wouldn't be there at all. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

There are, however, activities that are fixed, such as work. Even though many have some flexibility at work, it is a recurring activity with pretty much the same hours and many leisure and sports activities are fixed time and place. The activities lying outside the control of the households can only be regulated in the households by entirely opting them out. I mother explains their level of activities:

I don't think we have particulary many activities compared to others. Our children aren't participating in much. Our son practice soccer and judo, but our daughter isn't participating in anything. Well... She swims with the other kids from the after-school centre. We have tried this and that, but when we are taking about time, it really means something you don't need to drive. I think its really exhausting if they participate in too much. On a normal weekday night you only have 2-3 hours to do all the practical things, if they then have to be driven to and from on top of that... (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Rhythms

Some households are also dependent on transport modes, which are outside their control, such as public transportation. This means the rhythm of public transport, situated in timetables and frequencies, becomes influential in the formation of the household's patterns and routines. A father explains:

Its because it has to fit in with the bus. I have to walk from Ryparken up to Emdrup where I have to take the 69er [bus route] all the way. When I leave in the morning I also take the 69er. If I take bus 42 or whatever its called, then I have to wait 20 minutes till it'll be there. Its much faster to walk the last stretch. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

The daily organisation and activities have to fit into these schedules and this affects transport mode choice. Household's using cars bypass public transport timetables, but still find themselves caught in the rhythm of morning traffic and rush hour.

Mother: [...] I always drive in this way when it's early in the morning. I drive a quarter past seven, then there isn't much traffic.

Father: If she drives 15 minutes later, she takes another route...

Mother: Then I take anoter route. But in the mornings, there isn't very much traffic so I'm able to go this way. When I drive home I can drive two different routes. If I go at four o'clock then there's usually heavy traffic and I'll continue all the way down here by the lake [pointing on a map]. (Wind 2012: Family D)

Especially, the children's institutions and schools are imposing strict timetables and rhythms on the household's daily life. For some, this is visible in the entire organization of the household for all its members, while other households have the possibility to deal with it on a more individual basis. Households with children capable of handling their own mobility seem less influenced. A father explains how the institutions impose on their life:

It depends who has to pick up the kids. This is typically the constraining factor. The institution the little one attends to closes early, 16.30. Then it's really important to have the car. For both of us it is faster to have the car than using public transport [for the work commute]. I save around 5-10 minutes, while you [the mother], save around 20 minutes. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

However, it is not only external rhythms that affect the households, sometimes internal rhythms also pose a challenge:

It's because her naptime is between 12 and 3 o'clock. Then we can be in Hasløv at 4 o'clock [visiting the mother-in-law] and then we almost have to drive home again. We have to drive at 5 o'clock to get home to make dinner. This means we don't see my mother-in-law very often at the moment I'd have to say [...](Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

The households have to be able to juggle and handle these different rhythms in daily life. This is quickly adding to the complexity of running a family with children.

Routines

These external factors affect the household's transport patterns and routine formation (but to a varying degree). However, routines are not only formed by the external factors, but also from, what the household find as the most practical in their situation. Depending on the particular situation, practical and instrumental organization of chores and activities, in the household, will often turn into routines over time and repetition through a process of 'naturalisation'. As one household explains:

Earlier they [their routines] emerged... some of the routines emerged from me being more home than Mads [the father]. And then it was natural for me to do those things [household chores] and then Mads took care of the laundry, because it was possible to fit it different places or times of the day. But the kids had to be picked up at one time and then the grocery shopping also needed to be done before closing time. I think it kinda started there. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

Yet, personal preferences of the household members can also play a role in routine formation. A father explains how their morning routine is influenced by his own preferences:

Mom can't receive a text the first two hours in the morning. (laughing), that's, however, the two hours in a day where I have the most energy. And then it's reversed in the evenings. I guess it started when the kids were younger and you wanted to deliver the children in day care, or something like that, and then you just come into a rhythm. And I also had a

job where I had to meet in late in the day. It's always been easier for you to leave early [from work]. (Wind 2012: Family D)

Similar, a father explains how chores can be formed into routines:

Helping each other out is something I consider a family value. But it is true what Sandra [the daughter] says, it is properly Lone [the mother] who cooks the most. However, then the hedge needs to be cut or the lawn mown or the car washed, then we all know who does it. You learn to know each other, and then you also know each others main competencies and you use that. But it's true I don't enjoy cooking, it doesn't interest me. But then there are other things that interests me and I do those. So yes... there are routines... unconsciously. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Most of the household in the sample has organised their life in very fixed transport patterns and are loaded with routines. This is also reflected in the household's GPS tracking maps (see Wind 2012). However, amongst the households in the sample, there are differentiations in how much the organization of daily life is fixed into patterns and routines. Logically, there seem to be a connection between the number of and age of the children in the household and the need for strict routine-based organisations. For some families this is a reality they accept, while for others, it is something they actively seek to balance by prioritising the possibility to act spontaneous. A mother explains:

Mother: I think we are very spontaneous. It's not like we're planning things. Karsten [the father] usually calls home before leaving work and then we go out shopping. We haven't planned what we're going to eat the whole week, no, we take one day at a time...

Father: It's nice to have a freezer, but it's also nice to have something to take up of it... We don't excel at that.

Mother: We're spontaneous in that way, we don't need to plan. Of course, if we have an appointment, like going to visit someone we have a calendar. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

But most of the households in the sample, life is more fixed into routines and patterns. A mother reviews their life:

Actually, in reality there aren't that many unpredictable things. That's what makes our weekly planning Sunday last the whole week. Okay, a few appointments might arise, for example if you want to bring one of the kid's friends home [after kindergarten], but you can only do that if you have

the car. You'd have to say we cant to that today. So most of the time its super predictable to be a family with children. (Wind 2012: Family C)

However, in the empirical data, it seems it is mostly the households with older children that has the opportunity to lead a less organised and well-planned daily life, whereas those with younger children are often more forced into strict daily routines to keep everything together.

Family synchronisation

Adjusting the organisation of the household's daily life to the external rhythms imposed by work, institutions, leisure activities, opening hours, timetables, public transport, rush hour, etc. is one thing. Another important aspect in the households in the sample is the adjustment and synchronisation of the internal rhythms of the household members. There are different ways in which this appears in the empirical data. These can be captured in three distinct but related and overlapping categories: 1 synchronisation, 2 de-synchronisation and 3 alignment. Each of these represents a specific 'tactics', which the households make use of in daily life.

Synchronisation is when two or more household members physically (or virtually) spend time together. The most common instance of this is the meals in the household, especially breakfast and dinner. However, it may present itself in many forms including shared meals, keeping schedules free on Fridays after work and school to do nothing, 'cozy-weekends', Sunday drives and other types of weekend leisure activities, spending holidays together, shopping together, partaking in same sport activity, and travelling together for commuting or escorting children. A mother and son review their daily synchronisation:

Mother: I really like it when we take time to eat together. It's a nice gathering point for us. We often succeed in eating together, don't you think?

Son: We hardly ever eat breakfast together.

Daughter: Well okay, not breakfast. That's because all of us have different meeting times. Its not because we don't eat together, but we eat dinner together almost all days of the week.

Mother: That's true, and now... well also because they [the children] have gotten older, Sander comes home late because of soccer practice or something then it doesn't matter because we cant eat late at 730 or 8 o'clock. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

This is the most common tactic among the three and is employed by all the households in the sample. Furthermore, these can be subdivided into coerced

and voluntary types of synchronisations. The coerced or forced are the ones that are necessary to keep the household's organisation from falling apart, often dictated by functionality and practicality. In the empirical material, this is typically related to the capabilities or needs of children in the household. A mother explains how they arrange transport to and from the children's sports and leisure activities:

Mother: Its always Marino [the father] who brings the boys to soccer practice... or almost. Also, its always Marino who takes the boys swimming.

Son: You don't do it always, but is often you [the mother] who take me to bass practice.

Mother: Yes, its nearly always me who take you. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

The voluntary types of synchronisation are when the synchronisation initiated and dictated by the particular organisation of the household and therefore not a necessity. Rather, it is a wish or urge of the household and its members to spend time together. This is often referred to as quality time (for more on quality time see section 5.7). A father explains how the family prioritise spending time together in the evenings:

[...] its not like we're saying you [the older daughter] have to drink the with us in the evening. Sandra [the daughter] knows we think it's cosy if she does. So it often happens we all sit together when Sandra is home. But if Sandra have to do something else then it's perfectly okay. But Lone [the mother] and I have been on since 8 in the morning and when Lise [the baby sister] have been put to bed, we prioritise to sit and watch a little tv and have a cup of the and talk. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

The distinction between the two types of coerced and voluntary synchronisation is fluid and they often appear mixed. As mentioned, most of the households seek to synchronise their personal schedules around dinner. However, this can both be seen in a functional perspective (one have to eat dinner) and in an emotional perspective (it is nice to spend time together with the family). Some parents tell a similar story about driving the children to and from:

And it's also great if we're driving down to my mother-in-law, it takes around three quarters of an hour, everyone just sits there and relaxes, having a good time, and talks a bit. Especially, if you've had a Saturday where there have been 117 practical things to do, then you have then time to sit and talk in the car. Yes... for me it's both an advantage and a disadvantage to have shorter and longer car drives. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

De-synchronisation, the second category, the opposite of synchronisation, is when household members deliberate displace their individual schedules. The schedules are de-synchronised, but still arranged in accordance with each other. The objective is to create opportunity for synchronisation for some household members by the de-synchronisation of other members. In the empirical material, this is evident in households where the parents have differentiated working hours, some might have reduced working hours, to be able to complement each other in taking care of the children, house chores etc. A father explains how he takes care of the household while the mother is working late:

[...] I always try to make an effort to come home early from work so I can take care of things in and around the house. Go grocery shopping, cook and drive the children. But at the same time I have plenty of spare time when we're not to busy at work. (Wind 2012: Family A)

Related to this category is the third tactic, alignment. Alignment is when the households seek to organise personal schedules or activities in converging time spans and some times also spaces. This typically involves synchronisation for some household members and de-synchronisation for others. This is present in the data when the household seeks to align the children's leisure and sport activities or when aligning activities like picking up kids after school or day-care and doing the grocery shopping. A mother explains how she usually exercises by running while the son is at soccer practice:

Yes, normally I would run around here. But because it was the last soccer practice of the season, then we only had to bring chocolate marshmallows and then home again. But I would have taken a run otherwise. (Wind 2012: Family D)

Alignment is therefore typically a tactic aimed at the practical level of daily life, simply to save time or make ends meet. However, sometimes alignment becomes a mean to increase the quality time between household members or achieve/maintain a certain lifestyle in the household (ie. the children are to participate in as many things as possible).

Prioritising in household synchronisation and togetherness

The above-mentioned tactics are found in the empirical data and is something the households employ on a daily basis. A primary priority across the households in the sample is the synchronisation of the household members for family quality time. Some of the tactics are directly aimed at achieving this, while some of them are indirectly contributing by optimising other parts of daily life, and thereby, leaving more room for togetherness in

the household. For some of the household, these tactics are very important tools against constant time shortage. For other households, these tactics are less important since their organisation of daily life is under less time pressure or the household have a higher tolerance for individualisation. This is often related to the lifestyle of the household, but is modified by the children, especially as older children are more autonomous. A father explains how their daily life tends to get crowded with activities:

You can do the planning Sunday night, but then you also have a feeling he next week is going to be totally packed. (Wind 2012: Family C)

A mother explains how things become less pressured as the kids get older:

Mother: So you walk a lot or bring them to all the activities [when the children are younger]. Our children are so big now. Ruben [the son], he bike by himself to soccer practice, and when our daughter is doing something, she bikes herself. If she wants to go to her father, she simply takes the bus and eats there, and then she'll come home again. So they do things themselves. It makes it's much easier than just 4-5 years ago. I went with him [the son] to soccer practice and everything else all of the time. We don't need to do that anymore... (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

Even though quality time and togetherness between the household members is prioritised in all the households, there is a great variance in how the households are approaching this and to what degree togetherness is needed to fulfil the unity of the household. Each household has its own balance between, on one hand, synchronisation, togetherness and family quality time, and on the other hand, attending to individual activities and partaking in other social relations outside the household. For some, it is only necessary to meet occasionally during the daily life, such as at the prime meals, while for others, a significantly larger share of the time outside work and school is spent together (for more on this see section 5.7 on time). Nevertheless, synchronisation in the household is not something that occurs on its own. It needs to be induced, there is work involved, and it has to be taken into consider during the planning and organisation in the daily life of the household. Just as the external rhythms are factors that affect the household's organisation, is the need and urge to synchronise the internal rhythms of the household members.

Planning and organising

The planning processes contain the coordination and organisation of daily life in the households. All the households engage with this aspect on some level. It is through negotiation and organisation

that the household members stitch together the many activities, wishes and needs that daily life is made up of. In the empirical data, it is evident that planning is a necessity to deal with this complexity in daily life. Especially two factors seem to add to this. First, the household is a relational unit consisting of several individuals that have to (at least to some degree) coordinate their activities, and second, that some of these individuals are children. This creates a backdrop of minimum planning and coordination. However, in the empirical data, it also becomes clear planning is not a neutral concept, it is also related to the households overall lifestyle and self-image. Some households like a smooth and problem free ride in daily life, they find it necessary to keep a high level of planning and control risk and uncertainty (risk aversion). A father and daughter discuss their level of planning:

Daughter: We plan a lot, don't we?

Father: Lets say it this way: We are properly good at planning. We have a family calendar hanging out there, otherwise its difficult to keep track of all the appointments, meetings, parent-teach meetings, board meetings...

Daughter: I don't think its too much – but I feel things are under control...

Father: We are on top of things, we don't get surprised. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Similarly, a mother explains how they keep track of planning once a week:

We usually plan Sunday evening and get everything settled. Then its possible to know all the appointments, where to pick up the children or who is you have to pick up. This is decisive for who does it and what transport mode you use. (Wind 2012: Family C)

Contrary to this, some households have an increased tolerance for variance and uncertainty in their daily life. Some almost see planning as a waste of time that in itself should be minimised. A couple discuss:

Mother: We don't plan!

Father: No that true...

Mother: Well... no we don't

Father: If we get an invitation, we say yes if we can go, and we invite if we feel like it.

Mother: We're rather impulsive.

Father: We shop for groceries the same day we eat. We never shop for tomorrow.

Mother: Well, I have tried it sometimes. But what if you don't feel like eating what you bought the day before? We don't have schedules or schemes, you and I aren't wired that way.

*Father: No that's true.
(Wind 2012: Family A)*

A father, from a household who plan very little, explains how he sees planning as unwanted structures:

Of course you get stressed. And when someone is ill and everything is on the edge, then you of course feel things are going too fast. Planning could properly be better, some would say, but actually I don't. I don't like living in fixed systems. I think I would become too annoyed. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Even though planning is a contested activity that some of the household would rather do without, none of them can completely avoid it. The households own notion of how much they plan, and if they see themselves as planners or more spontaneous, must be understood as subjective. However, there are many levels of planning in the households. In the empirical material appear four distinct levels: ad-hoc/daily, weekly, monthly, and long term planning. The households subscribe to different configurations of these. A mother explain how they use ad-hoc planning:

More or less from day to day. I'm the planner and Torben [the father] follows along. That's also why you couldn't get an appointment, he's not a great planner. You are allowed to that in this forum [jokingly refering to the interview]. But it's very much day-to-day, and also late in the day. Hvis we have arranged something then we call each other and re-arranges if necessary. For example, I have left work a bit earlier and am nearby anyway [to pick up the children]. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

The father furthermore explains how they use texting or phoning to plan on the move:

To day, for example, in the kindergarten Anders [the son] had to sing in choir at 3 o'clock already. And then it became a question of who could get from work in time. The deal was during the afternoon we would see who could get off work. Then we had to text and call each other to see who could get to the kindergarten first and who should pick up Frida [the daughter]. All plans become liquefied when executed. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

It seems, in the empirical material, ad-hoc planning is the most frequent form of planning and all of the households use it to some degree. At the other end of the scale are the longterm planners. A father explains how he believes people develops systems of

planning:

I think everyone does it, everyone has their own individual [planning system]. Trine has her own, and when she moves she'll keep it. And you propably have you own. And maybe there're some who doesn't have one, but actually that also a kind of system not to have one. But we like to have one. We are amongst those how doesn't sit two days before the holidays start and are ready for a vacation and say – 'okay we're ready, where do you want to go?' If you only are two adults you can better do that. Then you have a freedom. So we have a system you could say. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Many of households indeed employ all levels of planning, but at varying degree. Each household seem to have agreed upon a formal and explicit system of planning. Most of the households have elements of the four levels, but it differs what level is the prevailing or dominating one. In the households stating they dislike planning, it is often the ad-hoc level that is foregrounded, whereas households who like planning, favours weekly, monthly and to some degree longterm planning. Each of these 'planning styles' are grounded with different tools. The most common planning tool is the physical calendar (and sometimes a digital calendar). A mother review their use of calendars:

We have a visual calendar hanging out here. We have tried having one on the computer and something like that, but its nice to have it a place where you can see it. And yes, remember there is family breakfast the 1st of December where im at the school [work]. If one of has to go somewhere, then a perfectly good argument can be: 'you can't do that because it wasn't in the calendar...' We are watching out not to double book each other. We also use our separate work calendars. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Similarly, a father explains how they keep track of activities on a calendar:

Then you [the daughter] get home and tell you have taken an extra shift at work or something in school. Then I remind to put it in the calendar, because three weeks from now you have forgotten it and then maybe I have said yes for Trine to come with us to dinner at someone. In that way, it's more for our own sake. It's our tool. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

The calendar is usually associated with the weekly and monthly planning level. For more detailed planning, such as coordinating the smaller, more variable and uncertain activities in the daily life, is mostly done verbally, either when the household members are physically co-present or virtually

through phone, text or email. These tools are typically related to the ad-hoc level of planning. A father explains how he uses texting to coordinate and communicate:

It's always me who brings in the mornings and always Rachel who picks up. It's because of work and we are different people in the mornings. That's the way it is. Rachel sometimes shops on the way home and when I drive from work I usually sends a text saying im going and if I have to bring something. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Another father explains how the cell phone vital part of their daily life:

I can't imagine living this life 15 years ago before people had cellphones. If I didn't have a cellphone to coordinate, for example our daughter called from the afterschool-centre and asked: 'can I go home with Alma', and I said, 'of course but put Alma's mother in the phone so we can arrange when to pick you up at Almas'. There are of course some guidelines and we know when soccer practice is and then there are some appointments. The children's play dates are planned way ahead, and we have a monthly calendar. We put along of things in there, when we work late, when we won't come home, so we try to do long term planning. Nevertheless, there are some things that needs to be adjusted. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Some of the households use the cell phone extensively in their daily planning and it is for them a necessary tool that enables them to keep much planning on an ad-hoc level and still deal with a high amount of uncertainty without the organisation of daily life collapsing (for more on this see the further down in this section on re-ordering). However, in the sample there are also households that does not use cell phones for coordination and manage in different ways. A hypothesis could be that households who have a high level of communication and coordination via ad-hoc planning can compress their daily activities together more efficiently as they can coordinate on the move, and moreover, this indeed contributes to and sustains the need for a high level of communication in daily life.

Planning and habits

One of aspects that appear in the empirically material as a counterweight for planning are the formation of routines or habits. The routines are a backbone all household members are aware of. They enable the household's daily life to run relatively smoothly. Depending on the amount and extent of routines in the household, this only leaves a smaller portion of uncertainty that needs to be evened out through explicit planning. The routines usually incorporate the practices around activities with the highest frequency (see section 5.7 on rhythms and

routines). A father explains how their usual week follows a specific pattern:

But it has become a fixed pattern. The five days of the week look very much like each other. But there can be differences in who of us does what. No matter what, there is one of us that take the regular morning trip and one who does in the afternoon. We need to plan for those activities. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

The mother, furthermore, explains how being a family with young children entail little actual planning as daily life is very routinised:

We have young children, which means there is so little that needs planning. All days are alike. It's not like: 'lets go to the movies tonight!?' It needs to be planned. [...] I don't think we actually need much planning in our daily life. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

The routines represent the basic structure of the household's organisation of daily life. However, the households are constantly developing and changing the routines to the shifting conditions, needs and wishes (i.e. change in working hours, new transport mode opportunities, attending new sports activity, etc). Routines can be understood as a kind of 'best practice' the household develops through trial and error. Here, the mother explains how routines are formed:

I really don't know. It's not something we have talked about. It just happens. It's what works. It's not like we have talked about what we do best, but we are forced to do it like that, I think, because we both have [demanding] jobs, especially you, maybe mine isn't as bad as yours [...] (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

This points towards some routines are formed more or less unconsciously simply because the organisation is working. Another household has a similar view on how routines are formed, but here they are formed from more deliberate needs and wishes:

Daughter: I guess it happens by trial and error. I think that's how you do it. If you have to say where it starts, lets say you [the father] have tried to pick her [the baby daughter] up and mother has tried to bring. And then you have just reviewed what was the best way to do it.

Father: It gives me a sense of flexibility in my job because I probably work more than Lone does. If I had to deliver the little one at 6.30 the kindergarter would be closed. I have the opportunity to stay longer, but Lone can't, but if she needs me to pick up I will. But who knows, if I had to sort the laundry Lone would properly complain. She

knows it's for best not to let me sort it, but then it's me who fills the dishwasher and empties it and hangs up cloth. So you find a way with things... Lone doesn't cut the hedge but she might be good at gathering the leaves. [...] You get to know each other, when you move in together you find out each other's strengths and weaknesses. Lone says she was never fond of cleaning the windows and asked me to do it. I did it once, and now the window cleaner does it, right... I don't want to do the windows, but its my domain, it was something I was supposed to do, so I contacted the window cleaner. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

In this quote, it is possible to identify the aspect of negotiation and roles. Routines are not only practical and functional practices, but also crystallisations of the household members wishes, competencies and skills. Routines are therefore not necessarily just something that falls into place, but also something that is negotiated to some degree. In the quote below these two aspects of routine formation is evident:

Mother: Well how have we negotiated this...? I guess they have just appeared, I'm not really a morning person, that part makes sense...

Father: You can't get anything across to mom the first two hours in the morning! That's, however, the two hours in a day were I have the most energy. And then it's reversed in the evenings. I guess it started when the kids where younger and you wanted to deliver the children in day care, or something like that, and then you just come into a rhythm. And I also had a job were I had to meet in late in the day. It's always been easier for you to leave early [from work].

Mother: Yes, it fits me perfectly to come in early because all my students slowly meet around 9-10. Then I have a couple of hours to myself to catch up on a lot. Then you can give them a couple of instructions, go home and they will work until 8 o'clock.

Father: But we do have flexible jobs, we can choose, as we want to. You definitely can't say our jobs have been dragged upon us. (Wind 2012: Family D)

This internal negotiation of the routines in the household is complex since it needs to take into considerations the many external conditions and internal conditions affecting the household as well as the roles in the household. The negotiation of routines are also related to the larger longterm organisational decisions in the household, such as location of residence (for more see section 5.1), focusing on one of the parent's careers or reducing working hours (for more see section 5.2), choice

of institutions (for more see section 5.3) and involvement in social networking (for more see section 5.4).

Breakdown and re-ordering

The households know from experience daily life seldom is completely straightforward, predictable and perfectly repeating cycles of practices. Thus, they have organised their daily life in a manner where it is still possible to absorb reasonable amounts of unforeseen events and uncertainty without breaking down. A father explains how there is always a level of uncertainty in the planning, which can only be taken care of ad-hoc:

Today, for example, in the kindergarten Anders [the son] had to sing in choir at 3 o'clock already. And then it became a question of who could get from work in time. The deal was during the afternoon we would see who could get off work. Then we had to text and call each other to see who could get to the kindergarten first and who should pick up Frida [the daughter]. All plans become liquefied when executed. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

As the father says in the quote, it seems that plans tends to liquefy when they are executed. What this means is that there will always be some level of uncertainty that potentially can lay down the organisation of daily life and cannot be planned for. For most of the households in the sample, this is an issue they are aware of, but deals with differently. Smaller breakdown, such as fluctuations in public transport and traffic delays due to accidents or roadwork, are relative easily handled. A father explains:

If you are on the way home [and misses the bus], then we just walk. As long as it's not too far, but if you have get a connection, then you have to wait for the next [bus]. There's nothing else to do. It's kinda dependent on it... Or you might see if there's a bus the other direction depending where you are going. But normally I would say we take it nice and quite. I do at least. There's no reason to get riled up about it [missing the bus]. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

Even though such minor breakdowns are annoying, the household members are often able to re-order their transport with the use of their system knowledge. A daughter explains how she deals with a breakdown in public transport:

Argh...! I was on the way to school Thursday. I take the metro, and the metro only goes to Islands Brygge, well... Something is wrong there [the metro isn't coming]. I go to the other track because it might be coming in the other direction and then go back in the right direction. But no, it didn't. It only went to Vestamager again. I had to go and take the 33 [bus line] to Tivoli and then take a 1A all the way

to Østerport. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

While breakdowns in public transport are frequent, they are still unpredictable. Rush hour traffic and traffic jams are, on the other hand, far more predictable as they occur on a daily basis, at almost the exact same places in time and space. Sometimes traffic jams also arises less foreseeable as a result of accidents or roadwork. However, the experienced car driver is used to these situations and knows how to deal with them. A father explains:

Today the tailback started there already [pointing to a map] and then it went all the way to there. Same thing yesterday, but I drove another way, you couldn't get off the exit... And then you get there and the road has been closed for two days because they are laying new asphalt... I've been living all my life here, I know the short cuts and I have decided not to let it bother me when there's traffic jams. (Wind 2012: Family D)

Nevertheless, sometimes breakdowns can have larger consequences for the daily organisation and the other members of the household. This occurs when breakdowns fully disrupt rhythms, synchronisations or routines. For instance, if a work meeting gets rescheduled this might avalanche a series of effects, such as contacting and informing the other household members, renegotiating who picks up the children or do the shopping, but also it might free up time to do extra work that otherwise would have to be done later, making it possible to come home earlier the next day and so on. In the empirical material, it seems as if the household with young and dependent children are the most vulnerable, as most adults and older children are usually capable of taking care of themselves. A mother explains how some modes are better than others:

Time, but also the frequency of departures [matters in a good transport mode]. The metro is about time, because you never wait. The bus is always a hell because it always, when you need it, skips you. Sometimes I have waited 20 minutes, and I don't know why. [...] I have experienced just standing there with both the kids and don't have the strength to go home. And then the bus with all the stuff and things. Then I have someimtes taken a taxi. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

When this happens, the implicated household members need to re-order to keep the daily organisation from collapsing. In the empirical material, the households typically have a large repertoire of contingency plan for breakdowns spanning from using flexing working hours, turning in sick, using friends or neighbours, or bringing in the grandparents or other close relatives. Depending on the severity and the urgency of the situation, different measures are taken. For instance, the household

might already know during the beginning of the day the parents cannot pick up the kids in time and therefore brings in a grandparent to cover. A father explains:

Both of us can manage one way or the other without the car. That means it's the needs of the children that decide who has the car. I can just as well take the train if Mille needs to use the car, and sometimes when we both need the car we call our moms or dads. (Wind 2012: Family C)

In other situations, the uncertainty is more secluded and cannot be dealt with before the problem arises. In these situations, most of the households deal with re-ordering by phoning or texting. A mother and father explains how they communicate:

Mother: But there are those days, for example last Friday when we hadn't arranged who should pick up. I think it was a quarter to four when we called each other to find out who should do it. We know they are going to be picked up, just not by who and how.

Father: Detail planning...

Mother: Especially Frida. Anders knows. They like to know when we pick them up. They say: 'what time will you come and get us?'

Father: They don't know the time yet... But that not what it's about.

Mother: But they know when you are 15 minutes late.

Father: Yes you get informed of that... (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Breakdowns are constantly threatening the stability of household's organisation of daily life. However, not all households are equally vulnerable, this depends on the amount and composition of activities, children, resources, skills and competencies of the household. Some of the households are in situations where their organisation consists of interwoven and highly entangled rhythms, synchronisations and routines between interdependent household members. These households are particularly vulnerable to delays, cancellations, breakdowns etc. Other household's organisation is less fragile due to aspects such as fewer interdependencies between household members, (shorter) practice chains, more buffer time between activities, better mobility skills and competencies (mobility capital), large flexibility at work etc.

5.9 Transport Choices

This final section, in this initial analysis of the first round empirical data, will look into the household's daily transport from another perspective – namely that of the household member's daily transport choices. These choices appear in the empirical material in two ways. First, at a 'macro' household level, here the household members make longterm choices such as residence and work location, car ownership, etc. These choices have a strong effect on the household's daily mobility situation. Second, at a 'micro' household level, here the household members make daily decisions on transport alternatives. Normally, these fall into three overall categories: route choice, mode choice and destination choice. As some of the macro household aspects have been touched upon in the earlier sections, this section will focus on the latter micro choice level. In the empirical material, the respondents use various argumentation, explanation and reasons when accounting for the specific transport choices they make. In the following section, this presentation will draw on Jensen & Næss's (2006) conception of 'transport rationales'³ as an analytical framework.

Instrumental transport rationale

In the empirical material gathered in this project, there is a relatively richness in the multitude of ways the household members speak of their transport choices.

However, there are still some explanations or argumentations that are more common and appear more frequent than others. The pure instrumental aspects of cost, in terms of time and money, seems to be transcending most of the household's transport choices to some degree. Whether this reflects the respondent's actual way of thinking as economical rational or it is a bias associated with the interview method or both will be discussed in the next section concerning methodological experience and reflections related to the first data collection phase of the project (see section 6). Nevertheless, when the instrumental rationale is, as visible as it is in the empirical material, something that should be taken into account. Also, looking back on some of the prior sections (especially section 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.7) it is quite evident instrumental costs are important factors in the household's daily life. In fact, it seems, as if, before the household even considers a transport choice, it has to live up to a minimum of instrumental demands. If the choice alternative is complete economically unrealistic, it is simply not considered at all. However, a few places in the empirical material the unrealistic choice alternatives do surface. Here, one of the respondents is dreaming of winning in the lottery:

³ Jensen & Næss (2006) presents six main transport rationales (instrumental, comfort, routine, safety, affective, and aesthetic) as the typical categories for explanations.

What I was about to say is, if we won the lottery then we would buy a terraced house. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

Or here a mother is talking of transport to and from work:

It is a positive thing for me, to be able to go to work this way, if it wasn't for the metro and the S-train I wouldn't be able to go to work. Yes of course I could pay for a taxi every day, to bring me back and forth, but then I think I'd have to find myself another job. It would cost around 800-1000 kr each day and I can't afford that. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

As these choice alternatives are unrealistic, the household members present them almost sarcastically and as silly alternatives.

The instrumental rationale is one of the strongest argumentations since it typically refers to the household's conditions and accessibility to resources and not 'just' personal and subjective feelings, wishes and urges. Therefore, it is highly present in all three transport choice categories: route, mode and destination. Normally, the instrumental rationale appears as a wish to minimise or optimise costs. Route choice is often a matter of minimising transport time by using the fastest route:

There aren't that many alternative options, this is the fastest way. The fastest way between two points is always the highway. So, I drive to Ring 3 and towards the Helsingør highway and then I get out at DTU exit. (Wind 2012: Family D)

Similarly, a mother explains route choice is instrumental:

No this is simply the shortest way... Because it's here along the tracks and under there and then through there, and suppose I have been all the way around, then I'd arrive here and cross here. So, this is the road to work, and this is when I have brought [the kids to school]. I drive in here to deliver Christian and Emma and then I drive back. (Wind 2012: Family C)

In the same manner as route choice, choosing the particular transport mode is often decided by travel time:

We use the metro a lot. If our bikes are broken, if there is a problem with delivering the children or we have to hurry, we take the bus or our bikes to the market and from there we take the metro. It's a good solution if I have to work on Nørrebro and then there is my mother. She still lives in Vanløse and if one morning I need to leave the children with her it's actually faster to take the metro in the heavy morning traffic than go by car. By car to

Vanløse takes 40-60 minutes and by metro it takes (...) 15 minutes, so that's a lot of time saved. If you are in a hurry you can take the metro directly from Vanløse, where my mother lives, to Nørrebro to work in 10 minutes. So why shouldn't you use the metro in the morning? (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Likewise, a father explains how travel time is decisive for his modal choice:

Yes, it takes 45 minutes with public transport, on the bike or in the car. If there were something else that did it in 30 minutes I would definitely take that. (Wind 2012: Family C)

However, modal choice is also related to monetary cost:

Yes of course it's also about the money, definitely. It would cost every month to have a car. But it depends what you need, I know if I lived in the countryside I would also have to have a car, and I would have to prioritise it before something else. Of course it's about the money... (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

This can impact the households on different levels, it might refrain a household from owning one or two cars. But it can also impact the individual household member. A daughter explains how public transport is also expensive:

I have never experienced being limited in my transport options, but I know there are for example many of my friends that can't afford using public transport. In their case, it's really a constraint. I use a season bus pass. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

The instrumental rationale also appears in destination choices. Here a mother explains how shopping destinations are chosen because of their distance to home:

Mother: I think I go to Amager more often than you think. I often go there, there are some nice stores. If aren't doing anything, I like going there to do a little shopping, gifts and other stuff. Typically, then I'll go to Amager instead of the city centre. I go through it every day.

Interviewer: Then it's because of the variation?

Mother: Yes, actually I would prefer to go to Nørrebro or Vesterbro, but it's a bit more inconvenient. This is local, also if our daughter is with me, then it shouldn't be too far. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

A father and mother discusses work destination:

Mother: We couldn't do that [move residence if the

work moved location]. Then we would just accept the extra transport time. We don't have young children anymore, so it's not because... they are very important, I have always thought as long as they were young it was nice to work near where the kids were. But now we wouldn't move [for a new job].

Father: I was at a job interview half a year ago where it would take one hour by car. I would have had to take the car because it was placed really badly. We also talked about it wasn't our dream to have a two hour commute every day. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

Distance and destination are closely related; even with family distance is barrier:

Mother: Now they live in Vordingborg, which means we don't see them that often. But my sister lives in Lyngby. That pretty close and we see her often. And your parents we also see they often, since they are nearby. (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

It is clear many transport choice alternatives are outside of the household's scope simply because they do not pass through the most instrumental pre-conditions in their lives. As mentioned earlier, the instrumental rationale is almost a basic condition that needs to be fulfilled for the choice alternative to be considered. In this way, the instrumental rationale is present in most of the household's transport choices. This will be evident in the following presentation of the different examples of transport rationales in this section, as most transport choices are often based on a mixture of transport rationales, and typically involving the instrumental rationale to some degree.

Routine transport rationale

As mentioned in earlier section (see 5.8 on routines), many of the household's daily transport choices and decisions are embedded into routines and habitual behaviour. The routine rationale appears in the empirical material as choices that have been 'naturalised' through recurring behaviour over a period of time. A girl explains her choice of route to school:

I usually just go the same way, I have only attended high school for three weeks by now, but I just take the same path. It is the easiest for me and now I'm so accustomed to the route. (Wind 2012: Family A)

Routines are in a way 'under the radar' as the respondents know they are there, but do not pay attention to them. This relieves the household members of continuously having to make actually transport choices day in and day out. A mother explains:

I think that's true. You have a hard coded trip mainly because it is the smartest, that way you don't have to think you just drive to work. [...]
(Wind 2012: Family D)

A father explains how his route choice to work, all of the sudden became visible to him as a routine, when he was confronted with a co-worker's route choice:

Actually it's quite funny. I have a colleague that had to go to a meeting close to where we live. He actually chose another way through the city. He took across Nordre Frihavnsgade and then Blegdamsvej and through Nørrebro and into Åboulebarden. This was never a route I would have considered. I had no idea that you could get through that way, down over Nørrebro. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Transport choices can become 'naturalised' to such a degree they become embodied – they are no longer thought off or reflected upon, simply performed. By doing the usual, a familiar routine, it becomes easier to time and coordinate daily life, as the routines tends to form an instinctive notion of the rhythms, timetables and travel time associated with the particular routine. A father explains how the bicycle is part of this daily routine:

[...] I just take the bike. Also when I'm going from work to the station [train]. I know it takes exactly 10 minutes. I just need to be there a couple of minutes to get the train and get seated. I know a can wait until there is 15 minutes left and then I can run out of work and then I can bring the last documents with me. Then I don't need to take the S-train from Nørreport, worry about how long time it takes or if it's stuck. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

For some, routine transport decisions are related to the high level of complexity in daily life and the coordination between household members. The routines are what enables and holds together this complexity of daily life. Likewise, the routines themselves are held in place by the complexity and the need for coordination in daily life. Each of the household members might have personal routines. These are sub-elements, which can be added together into household routines. In the household, the personal routine transport choices extend beyond the individual household member, as the routines are commonly known in the household. This enables the household members to create reciprocal intertwinements in their daily transport choices as long as these choices are relatively stable (routinised). Therefore, routine transport choices help hold together a high complexity in daily life. However, when transport choices and the organisation of the household's daily life becomes deeply entangled and intertwined in a reciprocal and dependant manner, the transport routines also

become necessary stabilising elements. Changes in the individual household member's daily routine transport choices can have cascading consequences for the whole household. And in this way, for the household to successfully accomplish daily life, routines are by necessity held in place by the complexity.

Safety transport rationale

As the instrumental transport rationale, the safety issue is present in many of the transport choice. Most of the parents in the empirical material foregrounds safety as a factor in transport choices. Especially, this particular transport rationale seems most dominant, but not constricted to, the more 'vulnerable' and 'softer' transport modes of biking and walking. The presence of children is a strong incentive to choose less 'vulnerable' modes and safer routes if biking or walking. The safety rationale distinguishes itself in two ways. First, as fear of crime and strangers, and second, as the heightened risk of bodily damage and accidents posed by other road users. A mother is asked about relevance of safety bringing the kids to kindergarten and school:

Yes... I usually have him [the younger child] sitting behind me, and her [the older child] alone on a bike, and if something should happen, I cannot jump off my own bike. Therefore, I'm quite hysterical in picking the safer streets. (Wind 2012: Family C)

Most of the households are very explicit in their articulation of the danger their children are exposed to in the traffic, but also seems to agree the ability to handle traffic safety is something that only can be learned through practice. This means, depending on the children's age and abilities in traffic, the safety rationale affects the transport choices differently. As seen in the quote above, young children mostly are shielded from the danger of traffic and this normally affects route and modal choices. Transport choices are also affected when children have to learn to handle traffic themselves. A mother explains:

Learning them [the kids] to handle traffic in the city on bike, that's something we think about. Now they have just expanded Østerbrogade's bike paths, they have become gigantic, there is room even in heavy traffic and there are bike path in most places. There are also bike paths along the Lakes. If you have to go through the city centre and we have to go to Amager and out of the city, then there are bike paths all the way. It's just a matter of learning to use them. Our son has started taking music lessons and he plays in Amager. We bike from there at 5 o'clock when it's dark and rush hour and it is a training exercise! But when you live in the city you have to learn it! (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

However, there is a significant difference between

moving parent and child together to letting the child go alone. As mentioned earlier (in section 5.3 and 5.4), the prior constellation pose a strain on the household since transport requires 'adult' co-presence. A father and mother explains how traffic safety as well as the danger of criminals affects the transport choices for their oldest child:

Mother: Yes. They'd like to, especially one of them [the kids going alone].

Father: Soon we're at the point where Frida can walk back and forth from school.

Mother: Next year she can. Right now a branch of the school, from 1st-2nd grade, is located further away. The rest of the school is closer to us. But Christania and Prinsessegade is a challenge with the chaotic traffic

Mother: They have to really... Frida can be very sensible, but sometimes she can freeze a bit in the traffic.

Father: Yes. Prinsessegade is our biggest concern. It's the trip Frida has to go to get from school and home, but it's also where Christania is located. Most people out there are harmless, but there are the occasional drunk or hashish abuser who romes the street. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

In this critical transition, the urban environment plays an important role. Elements such as wide biking lanes, non-motorised paths systems, low speed streets, street life, etc. have a positive effect on the safety rationale in transport choices, whereas road crossings, large roads with heavy and high speed traffic, low level illumination, etc. have a negative effect. But also, older children fully capable of handling traffic and adults are influenced by safety in the transport choices and behaviour. A household talks of the older daughter's route to high school:

Father: Usually you would say that this one is the smartest route when taking of a car. You take this route, because there is a bicycle path all the way.

Daughter: Yes there is wide bike path.

Mother: But why don't you take this one? [pointing on a map]

Father: I know ... There is roadwork...

Daughter: Yes there is roadwork and I prefer to bike here because there are better bike paths. I actually think it's a little scary there. (Wind 2012: Family A)

Also the weather condition in relation to safety can affect transport behaviour and choices in transport mode:

I'm the annoying type of car driver. When it rains or there's snow I automatically slows down. It might be you're allow to go 60, but I just go around 45-50, drive after the conditions... It doesn't matter how many are behind me. If you are in a hurry, well see you in the verge. I'm the annoying type taking it nice and quite... (Wind 2012: FAMILY I)

Safety can, as mentioned, also be considered a prerequisite that needs to be fulfilled in the transport choice, before it even can enter into the consideration in the household's daily life. In this way, the safety transport rationale is often implicitly stored in the transport choice, especially when children are involved.

Comfort transport rationale

In the empirical material, comfort does seem to play a large role in many transport choices. It appears mainly in two ways. First, in relation to exposure to bad weather conditions, second, in relation to exertion, physical effort and/or mental strain. Also, the comfort rationale is often closely tied to the instrumental transport rationale. A father explains how the uncertain weather conditions and seasonal weather rhythms influence the use of more comfortable transport alternatives:

[...] it is sometimes very nice to have the car - if you have to go to down town or back again, then it's a bit easier. [...] It is also a bit more practical; I wear a suit and stuff like that. I won't bike too far. And it is one of the reasons that I don't bike to Hellerup [work location]. I only do it, if I can see that the weather will last. Sometimes I have tried to be caught half way home in a major rain shower. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

In general, across the sample respondents, there are an aversion towards rain and windy weather. This seriously affects the transport mode choice if there are available alternative options. A daughter and father talks of the weather:

Daughter: But I can also take the bike when I go there, it's not that far [to the mall]. It's just through everything [the weather].

Father: The weather quickly becomes a hurdle. When it rains, you think it over. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Naturally, the respondents have different tolerances for bad weather. Especially, the more dedicated cyclists are less susceptible to weather conditions than others, whereas car drivers have the lowest rain tolerance. A father how bikes every day explains:

Sometimes the comfort decreases if the weather is bad, but it has to be seriously bad weather before I wont go [...] There's like five days a year or

something like that where the weather is too bad to bike. It has be a half-meter snow or something or a very strong wind! (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Still, the particular transport choice must be seen in relation to the overall situation of the household. For some, the transaction cost in shifting to other transport modes outweighs the bad weather, but most who have realistic and available alternative options, choses this instead. As mentioned, it is not only weather conditions that trigger the comfort rationale, but also physical effort and exertion. This appears in two variants. First, a negative when physical effort becomes uncomfortable. A father explains why he has chosen the car instead of the bike to work:

I recently worked out there and I could have biked every day, but I didn't. I biked... like five times? [...] But it's also when you wear nice clothes and you sweat... (Wind 2012: Family D)

And a mother explains she experiences physical closeness and exertion negatively in train transport:

It runs with a high frequency. Because sometimes when I go home, I work from 8-12, then I'm at Nørreport a bit past 12 and there are a billion people. Then there's only 5 minutes to the next one and I happily wait 5 minutes instead of being crushed in the train. It's very convenient with the high frequency. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Conversely, the second variant is when the comfort rationale is used as a positive explanation for transport choice. In the material, this is often tied to physical relaxation and mental recharging. A mother explains how she enjoys her daily commute:

No, I do not have a phobia, but even if I'm standing in the bus, and standing in the S-train, because you cannot sit there where I go [because of rush hour], I'm actually more relaxed [than going by car]. It's not something I think about a lot. But if we're driving together, and it's always Casper who does the driving, I think to myself it's nice to sit and relax. It's not like 'well, he's more man than I am' or anything 'now it's my turn to drive'. I think it's because you really like to drive, I don't like it... (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

Similarly, a father explains how he finds train riding comfortable:

But otherwise I do like public transport. There is something about the train, you can sit there and read the paper, I like that. But we don't have a train station here in Brønshøj. (Wind 2012: Family D)

The comfort rationale does sometimes occur, not only in relation to physical effort, but also in relation

to mental effort and exhaustion. Some transport choices are less arduous, both physical and mentally. Especially, transport choices where smaller children are involved, can be potentially troublesome and this often affects transport mode choice. A mother explains how the combination of bad weather and children are affecting choice:

And I think we are quite sensitive to the weather with the kids and all. Getting the kids in their wet weather gear just to go 5 minutes on bike and then out of it again, it gets too inconvenient. Then I just take the car. But if I had to bike to work and it rained, I would probably use wet weather gear and bike! (Wind 2012: Family C)

Furthermore, a father and mother explains their usage of the car is much higher when having young children:

Mother: We use the car mere often than before we got the kids. The car was something to get you from A to B. Now it's more if it rains, you could take the bikes or you could take the car! There are more car trips when you have young children.

Father: To take an example: Lets say I have to go to the Frederiksberg shopping center a Saturday morning and I had to bring one of the kids. Then, unless it was a really nice weather, I would take the car. Whereas if I had to go by myself, even though it is Saturday and it rains a bit, I would probably take the bike. But I would never do it if it were to become a trip with screaming kids and stuff! Then it's nice to get there fast and without any interrupting elements during the transport. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Also, it is not only the parents, but also the children themselves can be physically and mentally tired, and this can affect transport choices. A mother explains how a taxi ride solves the outlook of a tiresome bus ride with her children:

In rush hours it comes every 10 minutes. I have experienced just standing there with both the kids and don't have the strength to go home. And then the bus with all the stuff and things. Then I have sometimes taken a taxi. And of course when I jump into the taxi the bus comes... That totally annoying! (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Finally, sometimes comfort is not associated with chaotic situations, screaming children or mental strain, but simply a matter of indolence. A family dicusses if they could handle their daily life without a car:

Mother: You could bring it on a large bike. A freight bike or something.

Daughter: The amount you shop, you couldn't have that on a bike.

Mother: Ahh I have done that earlier! Also with a kid on the bike.

Father: We had those bikes [freight bikes] when the kids were young. But they got stolen and where hard to keep track off.

Mother: In principle, we could do it, if we weren't so complacent, we could do without. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

The comfort transport rationale is an umbrella for many different types of comfort. Most of the types reviewed here are quite frequent in the empirical material. And just as the instrumental and safety transport rationales, it seems, the comfort rationale is often present. It is something the household members take into consideration when making transport choices.

The four transport rationales of instrumentality, routine, safety and comfort appear in the empirical material with the highest frequency. Nevertheless, when analysing the data, these transport rationales are not the only explanations and argumentations that appear in relation to the household's daily transport choices. Also rationales like aesthetics, affectiveness and socialising are present in the respondent's daily transport choices. This reflects the household's lives are more than instrumental and rational organisations, but also involves more ephemeral, emotional and less concrete dimensions, which are noteworthy and clearly are part of and affecting the daily transport choices and practices.

Aesthetic transport rationale

This transport rationale involves the sensory experience of seeing, hearing and smelling as a factor in choosing amongst different travel alternatives. In the empirical material, it is mainly expressed as route choice were aesthetically attractive (or non-attractive) environments, views and sceneries are articulated as decisive factor. Especially the Lakes, in the centre of Copenhagen, appear as a strong and attractive green element. A mother explains her choice of route:

This is Godthåbsvej and Rolighedsvej and Rosenlunds Allé leading to the Lakes. I always bike this way. At this side of the Lakes there is only bike and walk paths, which means that you can ride completely in peace, because there are only other bikes [...] almost half of the trip is then without noise and exhaust from the cars – it's absolutely wonderful. (Wind 2012: Family B)

For most of the households, it seems clear that most of the above mentioned transport rationales are weighing more than the aesthetical rationale.

However, as a mother and father states, there are sometimes opportunities to go outside the normal routine:

Mother: Then I take another route. But in the mornings, there isn't very much traffic so I'm able to go this way. When I drive home I can drive two different routes. If I go at four o'clock then there's usually heavy traffic and I'll continue all the way down here by the lake [pointing on a map]. It's such a beautiful route the way down here. Then I go that way.

Father: Ahh, I can also go another way if the weather is nice. Then I could drive this way and through the moor and home. [...] Yes, you have to enjoy the moments you have in life, right... But it doesn't happen often, because I have to get the kids and bring them to sports practice... (Wind 2012: Family D)

For the parents in the quote above, transport mode is related to the aesthetic rationale since it is, for them, the car that in the first place enables the possibility for an alternative route. Other respondents in the sample relate the aesthetical rationale to other modes of transport. A father explains how he exploits the bike's freedom to choose routes with aesthetical experience:

By taking the bike, I feel I can better cope [with the situation]. To get where I'm going. I think, basically, I just like to sit on my bike. It's not exercise per se, but still it's better than nothing. I just think I think it's nice to ride. Sometimes I plan also my route, for instance when going to Vanløse, then I also ride through Frederiksberg or such places that are a little nicer than other places. It's not like I chose the route to make it a scenic tour, but I do think about what streets I plan to go through. I don't always choose the super logical, but I prefer to go through a neighborhood I like. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

It is the transport mode that affords different sensory experiences. For the father in the quote above the bike gives freedom, but he also feels he is closer to the environment he passes through. A daughter uses walking similarly:

I have started to enjoy walking. At a time I didn't like it very much, but I have to say [...] it was boring and too slow, but I've come around. Now, I actually like it. Sometimes when going home from school, to Nørrebro, I like walking. It's a nice route. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

She explains she earlier found walking to be too slow and boring, but now it is exactly these characteristics she finds enjoyable since they afford a different way of experiencing the urban environment. Contrary to the slow pace is the aesthetic experience of moving

through the urban environment by motorcycle. A father explains:

Father: I'm a novice on the motorcycle, I took the card two years ago and bought a motorcycle last year. I always look forward to good weather, because then I take the motorcycle, and when I do so, I always take detours. I take my time, especially when I go home from work, I can easily take a trip out to Amager or north. Just to enjoy the city, the city you live in, and relax a little off. It's wonderful! (Wind 2012: Family A)

There is an interesting relation between transport mode and the aesthetical experience. In the examples above, the various transport modes connects to the aesthetical experience in its own way. It seems, throughout the empirical material, there are no fully consistent relations between the various transport modes and their relation to the aesthetical experience. There are, however, some overall tendencies. For instance, walking, biking and motorbiking are viewed as transport modes with strong sensory proximity and closeness to the environment (perhaps since the traveller is not physically encapsulated). Yet, only biking is considered a serious mode of transport, whereas walking is only for recreational purposes and motorbiking falls somewhere in between. The slowness of walking is only a quality when it is walking itself that is the activity. This view applies, however, mainly to adults. For most children, walking and biking are both considered viable transport modes in daily life (for obvious reasons since they don't have access to other modes). For some, the car can also connect to sensory aesthetical experiences, but differently from the non-encapsulated modes. Common among these different relations between transport modes and aesthetical experiences is they are connected through the individual and therefore formed subjectively. This also means, the aesthetical rationale cannot as easily be calculated and estimated in measurable quantities and units as the instrumental rationale.

Affective transport rationale

Another very related aspect to the aesthetical rationale, which surfaces in the empirical material, is the notion of the household member's emotions and feelings and how these affect the transport choices in daily life. Most of the time, the respondents speak of transport as pure instrumental movement from A to B. However, feelings and emotions linked to daily transport are also expressed in a multitude of ways in the interview material. One is the embodied kinesthetic experience of moving and this can affect the choice of transport alternative. In the material, this is especially related to the modes of bicycle, car and motorbike. A father explains his relationship to his bike:

What means the most to me about transport is freedom. If I can ride my bike, I do so! We have all the advantages: We work in the city and most of our friends live within biking distance. The freedom you have when your mode of transport is right where you need it. You might also have some of that with the car, but then you can't get a parking spot in Copenhagen and you get stuck in a traffic jam most of the time. The bike is another level of freedom [...] By taking the bike, I feel I can better cope [with the situation]. To get where I'm going. I think, basically, I just like to sit on my bike. It's not exercise per se, but still it's better than nothing. I just think I think it's nice to ride. [...] (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

The feeling of freedom is for him tied to the bike. The bike invokes a kinaesthetic feeling of moving by own force and using his body in a healthy way. Others, and maybe more predominant in the data, tie this feeling of freedom to the car. Just as the bike is part of an embodied experience for the father, so is the car to some of the other respondents. A father explains how he uses the time in the car as free space:

I always put on the radio, always! Either one or the other [radio station]. But I must say we've been discussing at work when someone says 'I wish I had only 5 minutes home'. I think, 'yes it's true', but then you will have to pick up the children, which means that you're immediately 'on' again. It is perfectly true, not that much in the mornings, but in the afternoons it might be nice to get those 25 to 30 minutes of relaxation in the car. Where you just sit and relax a little because you're 'on' immediately the moment you get back home. I also spend time, a few times a week, talking to my grandparents. I call them when I sit in the car, because in the evening, when you come to at 730 – 8 am, you're not supposed to be on the phone... I do it straight away in the car. It's no hassle and when the traffic is running smoothly and there is no queue, you can just sit and relax and listen to P1, P4, or a CD ... well actually I think it can be very nice! And it can also be great if we are driving down to my mother-in-law, it takes around three quarters of an hour, everybody just sits there and relaxes, having a good time, talking a bit. Especially, if you have had such a Saturday where there have been 117 practical things to do, then you have time to sit and talk in the car. Yes, for me it's both an advantage and a disadvantage to have shorter and longer journeys. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

The car, for him, is a natural extension of his private and intimate space – a pause in daily life, where he can relax and recharge. However, in the material, there are also contested feelings towards the car. A couple discusses:

Mother: I prefer the car.

Father: We drive too much and should rather bike. But we each have a car.

Mother: yes, I'm born and raised with a car. When you are from Jutland and there are large distances and everyone has a car and you come from a 'car family', then you have to have a car! (Wind 2012: Family D)

Although, the father has mixed feelings towards the car, he still confesses they have a car each and it is their primary mode in daily life. The mother, on the other hand is much more settled in her belief. Other respondents have far more negative feelings towards the car. In a discussion of choice of transport modes, a father and son elucidates how different feelings and modes can be tied together:

Father: I don't take the car to work, what some of my colleagues who live nearby do. I'm much more relaxed if I have biked across Valby Bakke and gotten a bit of exercise, and then I can sit and relax on the train. In the car I get stressed if I can find a parking space, or if there is roadwork ahead. If I'm waiting for the train, well then I don't have any influence if it will show up or not. That doesn't stress me.

Son: You don't have any on influence if there is roadwork or if there are any parking spaces left either.

Father: The difference is that when I am waiting at the station I can't do anything about the train. But when I sit in a car I have this notion, like most others, I feel I have influence on how I move, when I actually doesn't and that is something that can stress me out. And I don't gain any time, it takes half an hour whether or not I do it one way or the other. And there are at least 6 trains per hour, so there is virtually no any delay.

Son: And you can work at the same time. (Wind 2012: FAMILY B)

These are all examples of the close relationship between the individual and transport mode and how the instrumental movement is intertwined with feelings and emotions. The car or bike becomes part of the individual, almost physically, but it also becomes a part of the individual's identity formation. Dressing up and special clothing, enables and allows the individual to enter a different role, act in certain ways, substitute normal conventions with rules of conduct associated with the costume. The use of different transport modes has similar effect. It enables (and sometimes forces) the individual to step in and out of different roles or personalities associated with the particular transport mode. A

father explains how driving earlier induced road rage feelings in him:

I remember in the beginning when I was driving, I could get so mad, well I still can, and scolding everyone else, because it's of course everyone else who are morons, never me... But I've become much better at saying 'oh it just takes the time it takes, oh well, we'll get there 5 minutes later'. But most of the time I will actually go around [the city center] because I need to go to Valby, when I go to work. When I drive in the morning at 5:40 am there's no major traffic, but if I get home later, or when I play badminton on Tuesdays and go home at 3:30 pm, well then it can take up to twice as long, but there is no point in getting annoyed by that. (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

For some respondents, there is a relationship between their state of mind or mood and the particular transport mode. Transport modes can, with their varying characteristics and affordances, strengthen or weaken certain feelings or emotions. A father explains how his mood and certain emotions is related to his modal choice:

Hmm I don't think so... But it might be reflected in the transport mode. If I feel stressed and the weather is good, then I might take the bicycle. Because it's relaxing to bike. But if I'm grumpy and tired then it's also nice to relax on the train. (Wind 2012: Family C)

Sometimes, it works the other way around. The choice is affected by, not so much the individual's own feelings, but rather the emotional qualities the transport modes. A mother explains how she would, if she could, choose the bike on the way home from work since the bike, for her, gives room for clearing the mind on the way home:

Mother: Sometimes, when going home from RUC, I thought it was a shame that I didn't have a bike. I don't like to bike in the morning, but when going home it would be nice to bike [...] That way you get a chance to clear your mind... My next job has to be in biking distance from home! I really want to bike! (Wind 2012: Family A)

Not only transport mode is linked to the household member's feelings and emotions, but also route choice can be affected. A father is asked if mood could affect his route choice:

[...] then I take the motorcycle, and when I do, I always take detours. I take my time, especially when I go home from work, I can easily take a trip out to Amager or north. Just to enjoy the city, the city you live in, and relax a little off. It's wonderful!

Likewise, another father is asked if his route choice

could be affected by his state of emotion:

[...] Yes, you have to enjoy the moments you have in life, right... But it doesn't happen often, because I have to get the kids and bring them to sports practice... (Wind 2012: Family D)

Besides acknowledging his feelings can sometimes affect his route choice, he is also touching upon another interesting aspect, as he states this does not happen often due to his kids and their activities. First of all, this reflects the responsibility that most of the households with younger children in the sample experiences, as well as the general attitude towards prioritisation of time and activities in daily life. However, secondly, it also reflects the care the household members show for each other through the transport choices and organisations in their daily life. This reveals itself, perhaps most strongly, like in the quote above, between parents and children. As touched upon in earlier sections, taking care of the children's needs and wishes are very strong factors in transport decisions. Bringing and picking up the children from institutions, school, social activities, sport and leisure activities are also a way for the parents to care about and to spend time with their children. A mother explains their daily life is organized around the children's needs and activities:

To take the children to their sport activities. The fact that we have two children pretty much plans our way of transport. We could, for instance, never be without a car. Or we could if we didn't have enough money, but we also have a car because we want to make use of those activities we find fitting for our children. We can pick them up earlier and deliver them later. The children's activities are essential to how we use transport. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

In this particular quote, it is striking how it is not IF the children should attend sports and leisure activities, but rather HOW the household is tackling the amount of sports and leisure activities that the children are attending. It seems, as if the parents see these activities are a fundamental part of healthy childhood. As the children gets older, the need for the parents to pick up and bring diminishes. It does, however, not disappear completely, and sometimes, in extraordinary situations, the older children still draw on their parents. A 16-year-old daughter and her father talks of bringing and picking up:

Daughter: For instance, there has been a few occasions to and from work, due to the weather...

Father: Or if there is another reason, for example, something with the bike or you have to do directly from school or if you work till 8 in the evening, then we'll come and get you. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

In these situations, the parents do not hesitate to

help out their children, even though it is not strictly needed. A mother and her 18-year-old daughter have a similar discussion:

Father: [...] It's very seldom the kids do it anymore, but at a time they would call from the other side of the city and say 'could you please come and get me?' and we would say 'it takes longer to find the car than for you to get home'. Where did we park it? Before driving across the city and back again.

Mother: Then there would be no parking spaces when you got back.

Daughter: I still hopefully try calling sometimes...

Mother: And sometimes we still come and get you. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

Through this transportation, the parents show affect and care for their children. It also appears in transport choice, especially young children, who are accustomed to a few modes of transport, finds other modes exotic and adventurous. A father explains how their youngest child enjoys taking the train:

[...] sometimes we have taken the train on deliberately, so our daughter experiences something different. But mostly it's because of her, otherwise we would take the car. She thinks it's fun, then we do it... (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Similarly, another father explains how their sons can affect their transport choice towards bus and train:

We primarily use it [the car], if we take public transportation it is because our son thinks it's totally wonderful driving the bus or the train. (Wind 2012: Family C)

As the younger children in the sample are mostly driven by car or bike in their daily activities, it is the bus and train that appear as the interesting and exiting modes. Finally, it is not only in the parents-children relationship this type of care emerges. A mother and father talk of how the father uses transport to help out the mother:

Mother: yeah, it's also just to get me out of home. Just to do something.

Father: She stayed at home for a year since the fracture in her back. And one way or the other we had to get her moving. [...] There are ways of getting people moving. And when you like shopping, it's a good opportunity to go shopping. That's how it started, now it's just cosy. We seldom go into a store and out again without having bought nothing, but it happens... (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

Whether it is affect for others or emotions and

feelings in oneself, the affective rationale touches upon a dimension that is difficult to unlock. Most of the respondents typically forefront the rational explanations and instrumental rationales when speaking of their transport choices. However, many places in the empirical material both explicitly and implicitly, the affective dimension reveals itself. Although the affective transport rationale does not appear as strongly as the earlier mentioned transport rationales, it should not be disregarded as a strong source affecting of transport choices.

This concludes the review of the six main transport rationales that Næss & Jensen (2006) presents in their work. Drawing on this, this analysis will now tentatively expand this list with a few more rationales.

Social transport rationale

For the households in the sample, the daily transport is often more than just connecting to activities. Although it is often short time spans, it is also a chance to socialise with friends or family, uphold social ties or make new ones. Especially, children old enough to handle their own transport use the transport as a social platform for 'hanging out' and informally be together with friends, while getting there. This notion can be strong enough to affect route choice and make the children take voluntary detours. A boy notices:

Son: I don't always go the fastest route home. Sometimes I go with some friends a bit further, after I should have taken a right. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

Sometimes these opportunities arise quickly and randomly and are therefore hard to plan for. A girl explains how she sometimes, not always, travels together with someone from her class:

Sometimes I tag along someone going to the train and we go together to the station... At the moment, there is another girl from my team that takes the bus, and then I take the bus with her (Wind 2012: FAMILY J)

It is often the daily transport to and from school that are subject for these social travels. Another girl explains:

Sometimes I meet with some classmates when I go this way and then it's just much nicer going together with them. (Wind 2012: Family A)

The social transport rationale is not only restricted to route choice. It can also affect the choice of transport mode. A boy explain how a friend of his affects his mode choice:

Son (middle): Yes I take the bus, but I start with the

Metro, just one stop, and then bus afterwards.

Son (oldest): Do you take the Metro one stop, where to...?

Son (middle): Well.. only if I'm going with some of the others [friends], it's because Alexander doesn't have a bike...

Son (oldest): So you go to Flintholm?

Son (middle): Yes it's nice [to ride with friends]! And I have my card so I doesn't have pay, so I use it as much as possible. (Wind 2012: Family B)

As in the quotes above, it varies to what degree these encounters are planned and organised. Mostly, they happen on the fly or are semi-planned, as with the last quote above, where going home from school usually means going together with friends and it becomes a recurring event that all parties rely on. In the empirical material, it is mainly something the children, and not the parents, experience. Some of the parents do also have fellow 'commutership', but the major difference is it is very unlikely this can affect the parents to deviate from route or mode. This might reflect different prioritisations in the two groups, parents and children, but also reflect how they are thinking of and using travel time differently. When parents are using the transport for social relationship, it is often very organised. A couple are discussing mode choice to a party with some friends:

Father: [...] I just talked to Kristian and Trine about Saturday. About how and when... They were 100% convinced we were biking to the party. It depends on the weather.

Mother: That's a private discussion, because has to do with women's hair. It's really annoying.

Father: It was Trine who suggested it.

Mother: Then she has better hair than me! (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

For them, the party already begins during transport, it is a social element, and the transport mode is up for negotiation. A couple is commuting to work together on bike every morning. They have chosen a route through medieval part of Copenhagen, a detour, to better be able to talk together. They explain:

Father: It's a nice free space going to work together in the morning. And talk about the world situation.

Mother: We actually started by drinking coffee. We found that we could just manage to get a cup of coffee sometimes, before we went to work after our daughter was started school, because so she had to meet at 8 am, and we didn't have to be there before 9 but we haven't done that for some time. And we never go home together after work. (Wind

2012: FAMILY E)

For some, social obligations can also impact both route and mode choice. A father, who commutes by car, uses transport time to call his parents and sometimes drive by his mother in law on the way home from work. He explains how the car enables him to do so:

[...]It is perfectly true, not so much in the morning, but in the afternoon, it might be nice to get those 25 to 30 minutes of relaxation in the car. Where you just sit and relax a little because you're 'on' when you get back home. But I also regularly spend time, a few times a week, to talk to my grandparents. I call them when I sit in the car because in the evening, when you come to at 730 – 8 am, you're not supposed to be on the phone... I do it straight away in the car. [...] (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Furthermore, he explains how the car also enables his family to spend quality time together:

[...]And it can also be great if we are driving down to my mother-in-law, it takes around three quarters of an hour, everyday just sits there and relaxes, having a good time, and talking a bit. Especially, if you have had such a Saturday where there have been 117 practical things to do, then you have then time to sit and talk in the car. Yes, for me it's both an advantage and a disadvantage to have shorter and longer journeys. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Finally, just as the children have a high probability of bumping into fellow classmates on the way home or to school, more or less intentionally, some parents also seeks situations, where they might meet acquaintances. A father, choses to walk to the nearby grocery shop using this as an excuse to informally bump into neighbours:

Father: I usually walk down shopping. It's approx. 700 meters. It takes a little longer, but I like it, it's cosy. I walk a new route if possible, but there is a limit to how many new routes I can take.

Daughter: And then you know a lot people in the neighbourhood and you can chat, dad...

Father: Yes that's right. (Wind 2012: Family D)

In the empirical material, the sociale rationale is quite evident, but it does not come across as a strong rationale. As with the other 'softer' transport rationales of aesthetics and affect, it clearly comes across as a 'lower tier' rationale subjacent to some of the stronger rationales. Futhermore, it does not occur very often in relation to transport destination choices.

Lifestyle transport rationale

Drawing on Giddens' conception of lifestyle, the household's lifestyle can be defined as the sum of its daily practices, including transport practices (Kaspersen 2001). From this perspective, each of the households in the sample can be said to lead a unique lifestyle. However, as the common aspect across the households is the children, there are commonalities since the households, to some degree, faces similar challenges in daily life. Some of the differences and similarities in the households have been reviewed through the different themes presented in this report. In this last part of this section, a few 'weaker' transport rationales will be reviewed under the umbrellla term of lifestyle transport rationale. These are rationales that are used in some of the household, but are not consistant throughout the sample as the transport rationales reviewed above.

Environment

The first weaker transport rationale is the environmental aspect. This appears in the empirical material in different degrees and is mostly used in relation to mode choice. Three groups can be outlined. First, for some households, this is an argument for not using car as primary mode. None of the households solely use the environmental rationale, and mostly, it is tied to an instrumental transport rationale. A father explains who their use of train transport have two sides:

We use it often [the train]. Søren [the oldest son] use it every day to school, I use it every day to work, with a few exceptions. You [the middle son] use it when going to sport, to visit friends and to go and buy feed for your animals. We'd like there to be more of it, in part because it makes the city cleaner, but also because it's very effective! We'd like to have that city ring and established some light rails along the ring roads... (Wind 2012: Family B)

It should be noted, in the sample, those who lead this kind of 'green' lifestyle with little, or no, car use in daily life are amongst the households with the most economic resources and the most transport options. These families mostly work or live in the Copenhagen city centre or at Frederiksberg, and for them, the bike and public transport often represents a faster and more effective mode than the car. A mother explain their view on car users in the city centre:

[...] We aren't treehuggers, but I think it's a mess taking your car and driving into the city centre. It simply isn't worth one's while, neither for the environment or saving time. I just can't see the point. And I actually think it is ridiculous to do it, because there is enough traffic in the city. It has probably to do with values. I think it'd be embarrassing driving to work, unless there was a

very good reason. Get on your bike or walk or take the bus! (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Second, there are households who use one 'active' car in daily life, but also use other modes of transport. Owning one car is a maximum for them. Transport to daily activities might just as well be performed in 'greener' modes, but the car is often chosen due to its flexibility and speed. A couple explains how they choose not to buy a second car:

Father: A new car would cost extra on top of what we do now, this pattern. I think, actually, we are convinced if we don't need an extra car, then there is no reason to get it. Economically we could afford it, it's not about that.

Mother: It's also a mess. It wouldn't be decisive for our transport, but I don't mind public transport, if the alternative is me driving one person in one car. Then I can get up in the morning and take the S-train. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

Third, there are households who use the car for almost all activities and often have two cars. They live in the suburbs of Copenhagen and are often less connected to public transport. Their daily life is built around the car, and it is often difficult for them to organise their transport otherwise. As one father explain:

If there had been a more reasonable... it's completely impossible to get there by public transport because you'd have to go into the city first and then back out again. Just getting in would be impossible. Or you'd have to go to Ring 4 and that would take several hours. But if there was a metro for example, they are talking about a metro line along Frederikssundsvej, and you just went into the metro, I could do that. Especially if I worked in the city, what I might be doing soon, that would be a clever solution. You do have a bit of a bad conscience when you drive into the city. (Wind 2012: Family D)

In the quote above, some of the respondents voice their environmental concern but do not see it possible to change their transport pattern in their current situation. Finally, there are quite a few in the sample who do not at all articulate the environmental aspect. And amongst those who do, it is clear that the environmental rationale is never alone. A mother explains how the traffic situation in the centre of Copenhagen, where they live, is annoying and problematic mostly by pointing to instrumental and comfort reasons and only to the environmental aspect in a lesser degree:

I think I believe they should prioritise the public transport. Many of the things they are doing are actually a hassle for us living here. It might be

for those who are driving in queue into the city, that also too bad for them driving in a traffic jam every morning, but they have to be motivated... That's not me, yeah, I also think it's annoying they are driving in there every morning! But it's also annoying if my parents have to pay 40 kr on the way in and 40 kr on the way out when they visit us and then it costs 100 kr to park in there because there are so many cars. That's when I think it'll cost a fortune, if I borrow a car from some friends, not because of Betalingsringen [road pricing system] but due to parking. And it's no help for me living here, I'd like if something were done about the cars driving into the city, but I think it's a problem if becomes too big an inconvenience for those living here. If you find the problem is that many drives into the city, then that's true, and I'd like less cars and less pollution, and as I said, it could be super cool if the city was car-free. In fact for my sake, they could close the whole city off from the cars, I know in practice it wouldn't work with the shops and so on, but it would make sense with lots of metro and busses. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

It seems, the environmental rationale is mainly present in the household's longterm decisions, such as car ownership. In turn, this has of course repercussions for the daily transport choices, but it does not seem like neither of the households think of the environment on a daily basis. Consequently, it is a lightweight transport rationale that seldom has direct influence over transport choices. It is used as an auxiliary argument in relation to other stronger rationales.

Exercise

In the empirical material, an exercise transport rationale appears a few times. It is, however, striking how little the household members make use of it. It seems, just as many of the parent's other activities, exercise is under-prioritised. A 'healthy' lifestyle, where exercise is part of the daily activities, is not very present in the sample. Only a few of the parents are participating in dedicated exercise activities. Due to the organisation of daily life in the households with children, there is little or no time for such activities. A couple explains they have not prioritised time for dedicated exercise:

Mother: No we don't do that. We never get to that. That's why I think biking.. if you think you get some exercise by biking, we simply has to bike. There's no time for sport activities.

Father: We don't prioritise that anyhow.

Mother: You sing in a choir, right, and that's your activity that we prioritise.

[...]

Father: In the summer I try to bike three times a week. I tell myself that's covers my exercise. And it's nice it doesn't cost any extra time. It takes equally long by bike as by car because of traffic. And then in term of time you get free exercise. (Wind 2012: Family C)

As the mother mentions in the quote above, a compromise is to combine commute and other transport with exercise by taking the bike. A father explain how his daily commute on bike also is about using his body:

No, for my part - it's also because I have days at work where there I'm extremely busy, then it's just to switch on the body and cycling. It's not that you can call it exercising, but it's better than nothing. Just to get some air and be a bit in motion. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

As he says, he knows it is not enough, but better than nothing. Another father has the same view on using the time in commute to get a bit of exercise:

I don't take the car to work, what some of my colleagues who live nearby do. I'm much more relaxed if I have biked across Valby Bakke and gotten a bit of exercise, and then I can sit and relax on the train. (Wind 2012: Family B)

The only transport mode, which is associated with exercise in the empirical material, is the bicycle. Walking or running are not considered a viable transport mode by most of the parents. Furthermore, to illustrate the low priority of exercise, conditions have to be good to perform the bike-exercise combination. A father and mother explain, how they like biking, but only if the weather is good:

Father: yes, it's healthy and good...

Mother: Yes exercise... And I think we are quite sensitive to the weather with the kids and all. Getting the kids in their wet weather gear just to go 5 minutes on bike and then out of it again, it gets too inconvenient. Then I just take the car. But if I had to bike to work and it rained, I would probably use wet weather gear and bike! (Wind 2012: Family C)

In this way, transport mode choice is sometimes affected by an exercise rationale, but like the environmental, it is clearly subordinate to stronger transport rationales (main the instrumental, safety and comfort). The exercise rationale described above is only applicable to the parents of the households. Contrary to this are the children's attitude towards exercise. Most of the children exercise and an 'active' lifestyle is the norm. For most of the households, it seems to be a matter of course the children use healthy transport modes of walking and biking,

and also, the older children will participate in sport and leisure activities after school. It seems to be embedded into the 'normal' lifestyle of children and it is therefore not articulated often. However, as one father explain part of the children's mode choice is also exercise:

There are also some important values you want to give to your children. They have to learn to either walk or bike to school. It hasn't harmed anyone using their body a bit. [...] (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

The exercise transport rationale does seem affect the households transport choices to some degree, even though it might be less visible in the empirical material than other transport rationales. And as reviewed earlier in section 5.4 (concerning leisure and sports activities), the need and wish for exercise creates a substantial amount of transport for all household members, and moreover, it is a major aspect in the household organisation of it daily life.

Transport cultures

In the empirical material, there are quite a few indications that households are affected in their transport choices by the social network they are part of in daily life (i.e. neighbourhood, family, friends, colleagues, etc.). Similar, to the above-mentioned lesser transport rationales, it is difficult in the empirical material to establish a detailed understanding to what degree this affects the transport choices. To approach this, the concept of 'transport cultures' is used. In this analysis, this is defined as the distinct and predominant way people in a social network are organising, choosing and categorising their transport choices and practices. In the empirical material, this is mainly evident in relation to modal choice. Although none of the households in the sample explicitly articulate they are affected by the predominant transport modes choice in the neighbourhood, there is some level of convergence between the description of the neighbourhood and the household's own mode choices. A couple, who are bike users, is describing their neighbour's transport:

Mother: Yes, there are some how drives come to think of it. Also into the city, we know some.

Father: Yes, a few.

Mother: It's difficult to say. There are cars, but there are presumably also some working in Lyngby and places like that or Ballerup.

Father: Come to think of it, then 9 out of 10 of the families with children, bikes... (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

Likewise, a father and daughter are describing their immediate neighbours, who have a transport pattern matching their own:

Daughter: I think there's a lot riding the train.

Father: If see think of the families in this row. No. 2, we don't know. No. 4, Dorte, she always rides the train. No. 6, bikes or drives to work, it differs with the weather. She takes the bike to the station and then gets on the train. No. 8, they go by car, I know they have two, they are like us. And our neighbours are seniors. And then there's the young family with children over there, one of them rides the train and the other takes the car. It's like there is always a car involved, you could say. But some of them, the women, they bike the whole way or to the station because they are maybe on reduced hours. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

Conversely, some of the households in the sample are aware of they not aligned with the general transport culture in their neighbourhood. Or there might be 'battling' transport cultures in the same neighbourhood. A father and daughter also notices how mode choice is very mixed in their neighbourhood:

Father: It's very mixed. There are some who uses the car as the daily transport. The difference is many of them feel they have to defend using the car because they know it might look a bit complacent, because they have a special need that makes it necessary.

Daughter: For some their job can required it, if you have to go to many meetings or something. I'm just saying, for some, you actually need the car to get around. Because you can't be dependent on public transport as you can't be 100% sure of. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

The fact that car users feel they have to justify themselves might indicate there is also a strong non-automobile transport culture in this exact neighbourhood (which this family belong to). A mother explains how most of their neighbours are car users (they themselves do not own a car):

Most have one car. At least the families with children. But I think many in our sons class don't have a car. There are some. Many of them have, but Sigurd doesn't... (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

Later in the interview the father also states:

It's also an attitude. I feel like, if I live in a city with everything, public transport, then I don't want a car. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

This view might open up for another way of associating oneself with a place specific transport culture in a more dynamic way. Transport cultures are for some of the households something they can subscribe to. These households align their transport

choices to the prevailing transport culture. A mother notices how their household completely changes from the bike as primary mode to the car when being in their summerhouse:

In the summer half year, we are there [allotment garden] every weekend if we can go. And then also in the summer holiday the last four years. Actually, we drive a lot when we are out there. Drive to the grocery, drive whenever we have to go somewhere. Actually we drive a lot, we only have one bike out there, it's a very suburban life. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

As she indicates, the households have prevailing images of how transport is conducted in different settings such as in the suburbs, the city, the rural areas or even foreign countries. A mother explain when the family, who live in Østerbro and do not own a car, go on holiday to Italy, to visit family, they do everything by car:

[...] it takes 15 minutes to the airport and 2 hours by plane and then you're there. In fact it's not even difficult. It's really nice. But when we're in Italy, then we always have a car! [...] We have driven to the supermarket in the car, there are cars everywhere and huge parking basements. But I clear, it's much nicer to bike, definitely.[...] but right now we rent a car when we are there. That's part of being there. But we also live in the countryside... (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

For those households who do not fit into the general transport culture in their neighbourhood they might associate themselves with other social networks. A mother explains how all their friends mainly uses their bikes as main transport mode:

That's the bikes. That's what it's like living in Copenhagen. Everyone I know bikes around. People rarely uses the cars. (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

A daughter talks of her friend's families using the same transport modes and in the similar organisation:

But I also think it's too expensive. One positive thing is that I think it's nice and I know a lot of other people do so too. That's good. I know there are a lot of my friend's families who owns a car, but also there are lots who don't use it. They're a lot like our family. They have family elsewhere and use it when they visit them and otherwise they bike or take the bus. (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

As mentioned earlier, the households are not very explicit describing how much they are affected by these dominant transport cultures. They are, however, more explicit of where their transport choices deviate from others. This might reflect that

transport choices are often contested, and that, the households might be aligned with the predominant transport culture in some social networks, but not in others. A father explains how the two cars for them is purely instrumental and not a status symbol:

Father: There are many who see cars as a status symbol and that you have to have wheel rims! If a car seller asks me if I want a pair of rims, I look at him with a dumb look and tells him that it doesn't make the car better. To me the car isn't a status symbol I want. To me it's more important the car can start. You can't have a car the won't start every morning because you are dependent on it. Here, there are some with two and some with one. It's not like haha we have two cars... It's purely because we think it's nice to have two.

Daughter: We do what is the easiest and what well enjoys the most. (Wind 2012: FAMILY H)

In the material, there are quite a few accounts distancing towards other work colleagues. A father and mother distances themselves to some of their colleagues and their dominating car use:

Father: To arrive by car? Yes, actually I think there are some who have the opinion they only use the car and they don't use public transport.

[...]

Mother: The threshold is low...

Father: I have several colleagues. They live outside the city, but their attitude is like: 'we always drive the car'. There is something to it, but I don't have anything against getting on a bus with strangers and use that kind of transport. (Wind 2012: FAMILY G)

What is implicitly stated here is some thinks of non-automobile transport as a 'lesser transport modes', which are beneath them. Some of the households, quite radically reject the idea of subscribing to the their colleagues transport culture when there are 'better' options available. A father explains how the high accessibility to public transport is overruling the dominant transport culture:

And we are pretty well covered, We have two S-train stations within 500 m and two metro stations within 500-700m. We have a bus within 200 m and our work and the basic shopping possibilities all are in biking distance from us. That's a big part of why we never had two cars and we never felt like having two cars. It's a big advantage to live a place where there's lots of transportation. I don't take the car to work which many of my colleagues who live nearby do. (Wind 2012: Family B)

Similarly, a father explains:

I have a colleague living right around the corner. She takes the car every day and drives the same trip as I go by train. But it's a choice. We do have a choice, we aren't forced to take the car, it becomes a very hypothetical question. A lot had to happen before I would choose to drive to work... (Wind 2012: FAMILY F)

Finally, a mother distances herself from those who belong to the radical car culture, but at the same time she notices how one is always in opposition to other transport cultures:

[...] Some of them come from far away. No, actually I think driving your car into the centre, it don't get it at all. When you have a bike you think everything the car drivers does is bloody awful. But when you are in the car you think all the cyclists are driving like hell. That just one of those things... (Wind 2012: FAMILY E)

This is an interesting reflection because it indicates the household members do not only position and identify themselves with similar lifestyles, but also positions and identifies against and in opposition with alien and conflicting lifestyles. Clearly, some of the households are more aware of how they position and present themselves during the interview (for more on this see section 6). Finally, in the last couple of quotes, it becomes evident how the transport culture seems to belong the weaker transport rationales, as some of the stronger transport rationales, such as the instrumental, seems to overrule it.

5.10 Reflection on the use of transport rationales

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, the transport rationales are ideal type constructs, which excels as analytic categories. In reality, or at least in the empirical material, they do not occur ordered and with clearly demarcated borders. Indeed they are mixed and tied together in different configurations and constellations. Some of these are more frequent than others, i.e. the combination of the instrumental and environmental rationale. Furthermore, the transport rationales can be sorted into 'stronger' and 'weaker' ones. But, what is interesting is the fact that this internal order, amongst the transport rationales, is dynamic and far from as stabile as depicted in this review. There are several elements that influence this.

First, the interview situation itself is a process of data construction where there are predefined expectations to the strength and validity of different argumentations and transport rationales.

Second, the households are involved in many different social networks and relations where there exist different negotiations of what rationales are strong and weak.

Third, the household's conditions (i.e. job situation, age of children, economic ressources, etc.) are always changing, and with them, the household's use of transport rationales.

Finally, it should be noted, the transport rationale presented here are the result of a specific analysis and selection in the empirical material. The general selection criterium is the frequency of occurrence in the data. However, this is not claiming the list is exhausted. Far from it, there might be other overlooked or simply missing transport rationales and it might be possible to further detailed some of the mentioned transport rationales into sub-rationales, like done with the lifestyle transport rationale.



Chapter Six: Reflection

6 Reflection

This chapter will reflect upon the analysis and the 11 interviews. As one of the objectives of this report is to prepare the next phase of data collection P2, some reflections on the interview material in relation to interview methodology is presented. Moreover, the chapter will also contain present different topics for further investigation that can be pursued in the next round of interviews (phase 2).

6.1 Reflections on the interviews

This section will review four different, but related, aspects that have surfaced when conducting the qualitative interviews with the household members. The first aspect is the household members seem to 'position' themselves during the interviews. The second aspect is the interview can be seen as an active identity formation process for the household members. The third aspect is some specific types of argumentation and explanation seem to be prevailing during the interviews. The fourth aspect is the household members make widely use of different types of justifications.

The qualitative interview can be seen as a constructed and artificial situation, only mimicking a 'normal' conversation. However, the goal of the interview is for the research to get as much information, in relation to specific topics as possible, from the respondents. This is, of course, known for everyone present at the interview, there is a motive or a purpose for doing the interview besides having a 'nice chat'. Therefore, it is important to reflect on the process, and moreover, understand how knowledge is produced during the interviews, as there might be aspects affecting the construction process in secluded ways. The four aspects mentioned above is a tentative try to expose some of these aspects.

The citizen and the consumer

First of all, what is striking in the empirical material is the way the respondents choose statements they give throughout the interview. It seems there are two main positions the respondents can take. These, however, are often polarised in relation to each, we will return to this in a moment.

The first position covers statements from the respondents related to, what could be called, a 'citizen perspective'. Here, the respondent make, what they believe are, 'political correct' statements or statements that are normally accepted by a larger collective. This could be a specific political discourse or what is believed to be a prevailing collective discourse. Therefore, in this position, the respondents tend to channel, through their statements, their normative view on the ideal

society from a citizen's perspective. The second position, however, covers statements from, what could be called, a 'consumer perspective'. This type of statements is often striped of the political correctness or what is broadly accepted (at least it plays a much lesser role), and merely focuses on conveying the respondent's own view. In this position, the respondents tend to channel their view on their own life as a family navigating in a complex society and tough everyday life. Another way to think of these two positions is in a global/society perspective and a local/personal perspective. Put very crudely, the respondents can either see things from a society perspective - what is believed to be the common good for the society, or from a personal perspective - what is believed to be the common good in their particular life and household.

As presented here, these are two distinct positions, however, in the interviews it often gets more clouded as the respondents move back and forth and in between middle positions. In fact, one of the ways these positions have surfaced in the material is simply because the same respondents sometimes make statements clearly in opposition of each other. Another, and relating, interpretation of this, is that the opposing statements is an indication of the complexity of the respondent's everyday life. This indecisiveness and ambivalence arises due to the variety of social contexts and networks the respondent participate in during daily life.

Statements from the two positions are often in opposition to each other. In the following, two examples will be presented. In the first, a mother and father is discussing their primary mode of transport:

Mother: I prefer the car.

Father: We drive too much and should rather bike. But we each have a car.

Mother: yes, I'm born and raised with a car. When you are from Jutland and there are large distances and everyone has a car and you come from a 'car family', then you have to have a car! (Wind 2012: Family D)

In this passage, the mother take a consumer position while the father takes both a consumer- and a citizen position by saying: '... they should cycle', thus tapping into a discourse of 'green' and 'healthy' lifestyles. What further underlines the father's position as a citizen position, is the fact that the mother feels she needs to justify, or at least explain, why she like using the car. She knows, with her statement of driving a

car, she is in opposition of some green and 'politically correct' collective discourse. Not because she drives a car, but because she doesn't denounces the car due to environmental reasons.

The second example elucidates how these positions are neither right or wrong nor good or bad, but much more nuanced and complicated. A mother is talking of what she thinks of a possible payment system for driving into Copenhagen ('Betalingssringen'):

I think I believe they should prioritise the public transport. Many of the things they are doing are actually a hassle for us living here. It might be for those who are driving in queue into the city, that also too bad for them driving in a traffic jam every morning, but they have to be motivated... That's not me, yeah, I also think it's annoying they are driving in there every morning! But it's also annoying if my parents have to pay 40 kr on the way in and 40 kr on the way out when they visit us and then it costs 100 kr to park in there because there are so many cars. That's when I think it'll cost a fortune, if I borrow a car from some friends, not because of Betalingssringen [road pricing system] but due to parking. And it's no help for me living here, I'd like if something were done about the cars driving into the city, but I think it's a problem if becomes too big an inconvenience for those living here. If you find the problem is that many drives into the city, then that's true, and I'd like less cars and less pollution, and as I said, it could be super cool if the city was car-free. In fact for my sake, they could close the whole city off from the cars, I know in practice it wouldn't work with the shops and so on, but it would make sense with lots of metro and busses. (Wind 2012: FAMILY K)

In this statement, the mother argues from both positions. At one hand, she believes the heavy car traffic is an annoying element in her and her family's daily life as well as she thinks it would be unfair for her parents to pay every time they visited them. On the other hand, she also indicates she thinks this is part of a societal problem with environmental consequences and something has to be done, for example by enhancing public transportation. This nicely illustrates, how the respondents have to navigate in a complex daily life situation where the common good for the society, is not necessarily corresponding with the common good for their households. However, it seems what is believed by the respondents to be the common good for their household, often takes precedence in the respondent's long-term decisions and daily transport choices. Exactly because of this, it might

be difficult for the car-driving mother to stay firmly in the citizen/society position as the statements quickly gets grounded in the household's actual daily practices and choices.

Presentation of self

Second, the interview must at all times be understood as a process where the respondents are continuously positioning themselves in relation to the researcher, each other, their daily life and prevailing collective discourses. Clearly, some of the respondents are more aware of how they position and present themselves during the interviews. In this way, the citizen/society perspective can be used to signalise a particular affiliation. Conversely, it also occurs in the empirical material when the respondents disassociate themselves from a specific discourse or practice. The interview can therefore also be understood as a way of (re)producing of the household member's identity through their discursive statements. The interview process can be illustrated by using Goffman's 'frontstage' and 'backstage' metaphor (Goffmann 1959). In this study, the households have invited the researcher into their home, allowed to be GPS tracked, have given socio economic information and partake in the interview. In this way, the researcher has been allowed to peep into the 'backstage' of the household. However, the household members still have the opportunity to maintain some level of 'frontstage' as they themselves choose what to say and how to say it during the interviews. In this way, they are constructing a certain perspective or view on their lives and identity. Such discursive accounts are always assembled stories, as they are subject to post-rationalisation, given meaning, structured with starts, climaxes, endings and so on. Sometimes this becomes very evident, for instance, many of the household's have a specific story of how they choose their current residence. Typically, there are aspects such as choice of residence, work, friends, holidays, etc. in the respondent's lives the respondents have 'practiced' telling stories about. It is important to be aware of this construction process and story telling when analysing the material.

Argumentation and explanation

Third, another interesting aspect is the way in which the respondents built argumentations and explanations for their household decisions and transport choices. As mentioned, there is a predominance of the use of 'stronger' transport rationales above others in the empirical material (especially the instrumental, comfort and safety transport rationales). However, as the 'weaker' transport rationales of aesthetics, affect and lifestyle

indeed appear during the interviews, it might indicate, the respondents feel there is a common way to argue and present explanations where the stronger transport rationales are easier to use, more convincing and therefore closer at hand, than the weaker transport rationales. The mother, in the last quote rooting for car reduction in the city centre, built an instrumental rationale right into the middle of her argument, otherwise was made of 'weaker' rationales of comfort and environment. This is quite illustrative and symptomatic for the way many of the household members construct their statements during the interviews. In turn, this might reflect a general tendency in the Danish society, where some rationales are ranging higher than others.

Fourth, the respondents in the empirical material make wide use of 'justifications' (Albertsen & Diken 2001) and 'structural narratives' (Freudendal-Pedersen 2007) as part of their argumentations and explanations. This might indeed relate back to the citizen and consumer positions, as these types of statements often occurs in relation to the consumer position needed to justify the household's particular choices. The car-driving mother clearly used a structural narrative, saying if you are from a car-driving family, you are almost obligated to continue driving to preserve the family integrity and identity. In this way, the respondents use the structural narratives or justifications to support their choices and statements.

Conclusion

The description of the four aspects presented in this section has only scratched the surface of how they appear in and affect the interviews. Further work and reflections needs to be done. However, this will not be pursued in this report but in a later stage of the project. Moreover, the goal of this reflection is not to pass judgement or indicate the respondents are in any way untruthful or misleading. Even as it may sound, it not about exhibiting the respondents positioning as citizen or consumer or saying one is better than the other. But it is merely to become aware of these aspects and how they affect the interview and knowledge production. The objective in the interviews is to gather rich statements related to the chosen topics, not to control the respondent's way of acting or the statements they make. Therefore, all types of statements, as reviewed above, can be rich and have empirical value in the analysis. With that being said, this report's objective is to bridge the phases in the study and prepare for the next phase, P2. By elucidating these aspects, the next series of interviews and analysis have a chance of being even better equipping and prepared before commencing.

6.2 Topics for the next phase

The interviews in P0 and P1 was constructed to be explorative and open to new topics and themes when talking of the household's life world and their daily mobility. This resulted in a very rich and very broad empirical material with lots of variety. However, during the qualitative interview, it was difficult to systematically pursue both empirical width and depth. Therefore, one of the objectives of the P2 interviews is to go into further depth with selected themes and topics visited here. This report is a kick off for developing the next interview guide on the basis of the already collected empirical material. Therefore, in this final section, various ideas and possible paths for investigation is presented. It should be noted, the master frame for the interview guide is still structured by the overall research questions.

Potential topics for the P2 interviews

- Gain more knowledge of the household members individual and collective attitudes and norms and how these affect each other.
- Gain a better understanding of the use of different transport rationales and the notion of the consumer and the citizen.
- Gain more insight into the household members upbringing and what their mobility conditions looked like earlier. This has been done for some of the household, but not for all.
- Gain more knowledge of the household's own view of their life phase. This could be done by letting them draw a timeline including past, present and future. This could also give more insight into the household's future goals and wishes.
- Gain better understanding of how the households maintain a full utilisation of their available resources, and furthermore, how resources are dynamically distributed between household members.
- Investigate the households daily transport practices in further detail. In particular how artefacts and hardware are involved as well as material urban environment.
- Gain more knowledge of the aesthetic transport rationale as it covers practices involving many aspects such as body, senses, understandings, attitudes, artefacts, urban environment etc.
- Investigate more in depth how the households use various aiding devices in daily life and transport.
- Gain a better understanding of how and to what degree social obligations is a driving force in the households.
- Explore if the household member's mobility skills and competencies do degrade/diminish over time and how this happens.
- Investigate if the households who have a high level of communication and coordination via ad-hoc planning can fit their daily activities together more efficiently as they can coordinate on the move, and moreover, if this indeed contributes and sustains the need for a high level of communication in daily life.
- Gain more knowledge of how the household member's choose destination, as it is not appearing much in the empirical material.
- Gain more knowledge of the different situations in daily life where the organisation collapses, what triggers this, and moreover, how does the household handle this.



Chapter Seven: Appendix

7 Appendix

7.1 List of illustrations

Figure 1-3: Own diagram

Figure 4: Google maps

Figure 5-37: Google Streetview

Table 1-13: Own table

7.2 List of literature

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